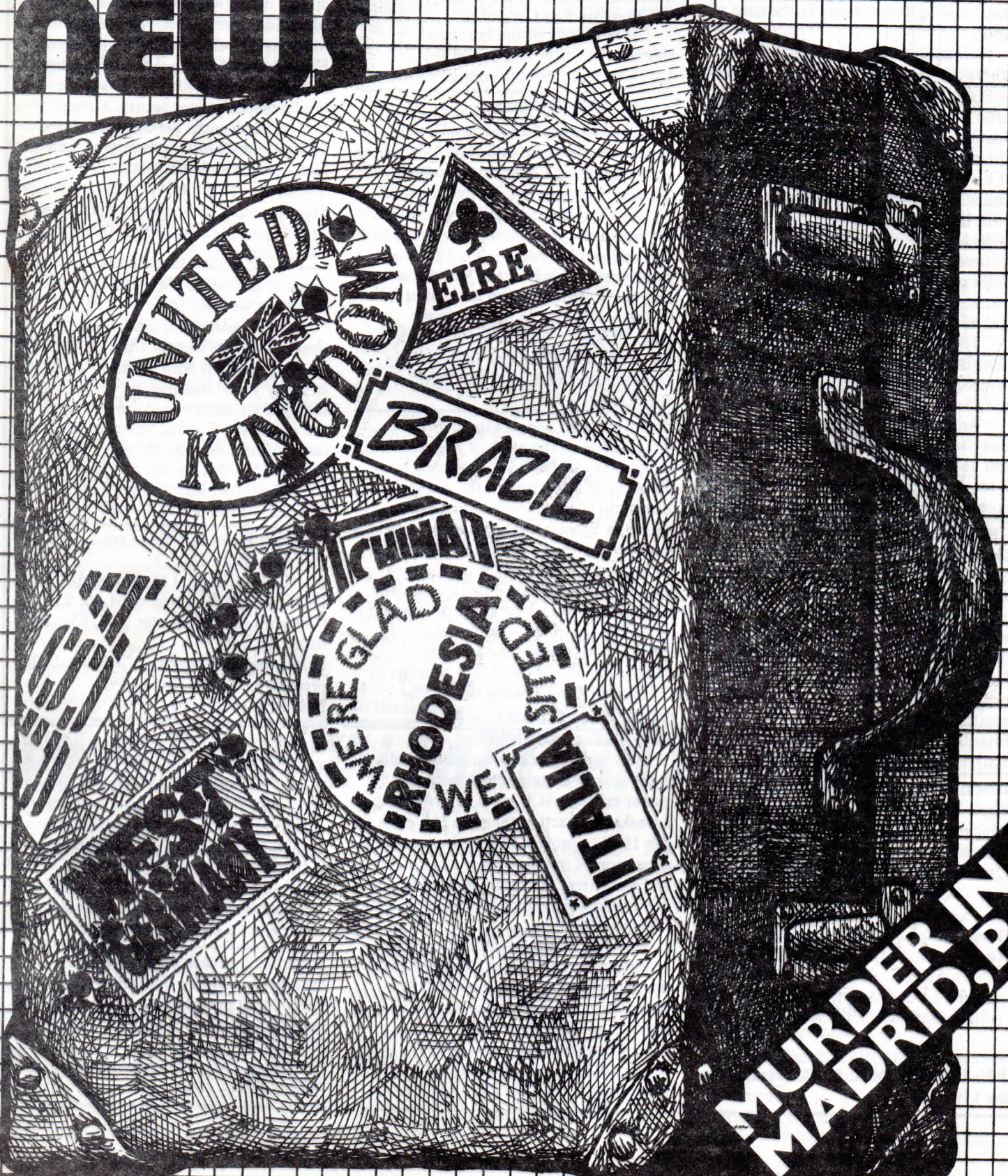


BLACK FLAG

ORGAN OF THE ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS

VOLUME 5 NUMBER 4 MAY 1978 20 p

INTERNATIONAL NEWS



BLACK ~ FLAG

Organ of the Anarchist Black Cross

BRATACH DUBH PAMPHLETS

Two new pamphlets from Bratach Dubh "Workers' Autonomy" and "The Angry Brigade" will be ready for distribution and sale as soon as they get the covers from the printers. A third pamphlet "Armed Struggle" has been held up owing to unforeseen difficulties, but they hope to have it ready in the near future.

"Workers' Autonomy" will sell for 30p (with 33% discount for groups and bookshops). It contains four essays: 1) After Marx, Autonomy — Alfredo Bonano. 2) Workers' Autonomy: Surpassing Trade Unionism — The Comrades of Kronstadt Editions. 3) Workers' Councils, Self-Management & Development in Proletarian Autonomy — The Comrades of Kronstadt Editions. 4) Autonomous Movement of the Turin Railway workers: Organisation of the Autonomous Workers Nucleus — Autonomous Workers Movement, Turin.

"The Angry Brigade" is sold on the same terms and price as the above pamphlet, and contains communiques and chronology.

"Anarchism & the National Liberation Struggle" has been reprinted and will be ready shortly (15p). Bratach Dubh, 83 Langside Terrace, Port Glasgow, Renfrewshire, Scotland.

ORCA No. 2

The second issue of Orca is now available from PO Box 478, Seattle, Washington 98111, USA for \$3.00 or whatever you can afford, but cash only, please. The second issue is primarily concerned with the continuing struggle of The George Jackson Brigade, but there is also some material relevant to the anti-nuke movement in the States. (The George Jackson Brigade is the only urban guerrilla group actively operating in the US today).

State of Play at March 28, 1978.

Black Flag	
Printing costs since Jan.	217. 16
Postage	68. 29
Literature bought	15. 50
	300. 95
Sales and subs	100. 55
Donations*	15. 00
Royalties	2. 75
	118. 07
deficit	182. 88
deficit c/fwd	1294. 14
	deficit £1477. 02

* Huddersfield: M.A. £5, Warwick, Meeting £10 — £15.

Our declining deficit has been halted chiefly because of the unexplained dropping off in donations this year: we've got more to pay out too (but it's somewhat balanced from sales to come in from last issue — so don't forget a small gift!)

Industrial Workers of the World,
226 Emscote Road, Warwick.

The new copy of the Industrial Unionist, No. 6, is now available for 4 x 7p stamps from the address above.

Anarchist Television.

BBC2 showed the film of "La Cecilia" at peak viewing time one Saturday night; and a week or so later presents the play "Stargazy on Zummerdown".

It showed England in 300 years time, the free society of Albion, where capitalism and war has been reduced to a country show once a year, when country folk and townsfolk enact ancient rituals as a remembrance to the nightmare past. Folksy, but none the worse for that, with real libertarian humour. By John Fletcher with music by David Fanshawe.

Over a hundred people attended the presentation of the work of Miguel Hernandez on March 26, organised by the Aula de Literatura of the Ateneo Libertario (Centro Iberico) in London. (Given in Spanish). The young libertarians associated with the Centro Iberico also rushed out a leaflet on the murder in a Spanish jail of Agustin Rueda, especially calling attention to the abuse of language in the Spanish press — headlines stating soberly "Ten prison functionaries responsible for the death of a prisoner in Carabanchel" contrasting with "Vile murder of the director of prisons."

PROTEST AT TORNESS!

Torness, jsut 30 miles from Edinburgh, is the site for Britain's next nuclear power station. SCRAM is co-ordinating a weekend of action there on MAY 6th & 7th 1978 to protest against the proposed expansion of nuclear power at Torness and elsewhere. Assemble in Dunbar May 6th at mid-day; March to Torness, Mass rally on site.

Can you: organise publicity and transport from your area? Bring alternative technology entertainment etc? Bring your own tents, food etc? Raise funds to support the rally?

For further information please contact SCRAM, 2a Ainslie Place, Edinburgh 3, tel: 031-225-7752.

Our concert at the Conway Hall was very badly attended (possibly due to snow in the suburbs) — but thanks especially to Robbie and Sandra who worked like beavers to raise the cash out of the audience, we broke even with a small benefit for the Mutual Aid Project. However we have decided to make the disco a monthly event. No charge for admission (but we'll ask for a donation to whatever our current cause is, Black Flag, Mutual Aid, Black Cross, prisoner defence or whatever). Obviously we need a meeting place for Black Flag readers and a social get-together where we can arrange other meetings is the best idea we can think of.

FRIDAY 12th MAY

Start around 7 or 8. Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London WC.1. (nearest tube, Holborn).

Some of us feel that May Day is the one day when we need to turn up on the "official" parades and processions, not to show a presence but for the only chance to meet militants who represent contacts of many years' standing; however others feel that we should have something of our own. The London anarchist groups last year held an enjoyable May Day picnic in South London; and propose to hold another this year in North London — Finsbury Park, May 1st.

Prisoners/Resistance Fund etc.

Balance c/fwd £23. 12.
SS (Guam) £13.60; I.M. (London) £5.00; Birmingham £30; Concert £4.30; S.B. (Cosham) £4; Manchester M.N. £5; total: £61. 90.
Earmarked: £5 (radios) £52 (Mutual Aid project) £2 Greece, total £59.
New balance £26. 02.

Box 1BC, 341 Glossop Road, Sheffield 10. The above is the address of the Sheffield Black Cross Secretariat. There shall not be as yet a definite group associated. Activities shall be entered into as they wish by comrades here. The secretariat shall simply provide information, encouragement. Linked to this shall be the Initiative Appeal Fund which shall provide some cash for prisoners.

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ABOLISH THE T.U.C

It is not considered very revolutionary now to talk about abolishing the House of Lords (though still nothing is done about it and it passes into a picturesque survival with teeth). Even the royal family have contemplated with apparent equanimity the abolition of the monarchy ("if it has to go, let it go without fuss" said Philip). But few are prepared to let the Trade Union Congress go without a fuss. Yet it has outlived its functions as much as the Lords or the Monarchy. Those functions were always concerned with the establishment of authority and were against the people, though at times they may have appeared a lesser evil. If these institutions now survive it is because they can act against the people.

The purpose of the TUC was to unite unions against employers who were also united, and bring aid to unions battling on their own. Did they ever do this? That was what 1926 was all about: the miners appealed for solidarity, the Government imposed a general lock out when the printers declined to set an anti-miner editorial, and the strike was on. The TUC negotiated during the strike to end it. They did not help to save it. In the finish they left the miners to carry on alone until they were utterly defeated (with disastrous consequences not only to the miners at the time but to the whole national economy today).

What happens now is that big business and monopoly employers enter into a dialogue with the corporate unions represented by the TUC, and the States intervenes in this dialogue. This is the stuff of social democracy, Tory "practical" capitalism and fascism alike.

Through the TUC the unions are able

to dabble in the affairs of the Labour Party, by which the leadership of both have managed to sell out the working class. Not one body of workers is left that has generally a good word to say for the way in which they have been treated by middle-class Socialists entering into union affairs or working-class Trade Unionists entering into government affairs. Yet the TUC is treated as immutable, beyond criticism, something basic to the fabric of national life (like the monarchy, like the House of Lords).

Abolition is not a difficult matter. It requires no legislation. Though the TUC enters into legislation it is still a voluntary body. All that is required is for unions to disaffiliate. Disgust with the way in which money matters have been handled with contempt by the ruling class can be expressed not only by demands to end the political levy to the Labour Party but also to end the tie-up with the TUC.

Militants within the unions do not raise these issues in fear of want of support. They know full well there will be as massive support at the bottom as there will be obstinate opposition at the top. It is because they fear that this is something that will please the Conservatives *as such* who haven't the backing to oppose the political levy to the Labour Party and haven't the guts to demand the dissolution of the TUC.

Yet will it please the employers *as such*? Time and again the Conservative Party is ideologically constrained to say things that we all know in practice they have no intention whatever of doing. The employers all want the TUC desperately. They want the unions to be subject to the tight control provided by the TUC

in want of overall control by the Government, or if need be, in addition to it. There is not one capitalist in the land of any importance — O.K., I know about the off eccentric like Ward of Grunwick's — who will want to see the TUC vanish into limbo. Most employers with high stakes at risk want the union, to curb the militants. He wants there to be an overall policy to curb the unions in turn. He wants there to be a Government policy, worked out with his own representatives, to curb the TUC. Otherwise, he would be "faced with anarchy." Let him be so faced.

As was seen from the firemen's strike, the TUC serves no purpose of solidarity. It unites the leadership of the unions, not the workers. It is an instrument of government and if the government want such a body, let them have the odium of maintaining it.

The workers have no need of the TUC. Unlike other countries where there are several trade union centres providing competition and (sometimes) an alternative, there is only the TUC. It is a monopoly which gives nothing but control. It has power but once the workers opt for disaffiliation, it will vanish.

Why feed a watchdog that bites only its owner? So far as the workers are concerned, they should urge disaffiliation. The TUC has no purpose but restraint, no policy but time-serving of officials, no structure but the co-ordination of bureaucracy. The sooner it goes, the sooner it will be possible for bodies of workers determined enough to do so to take control of their own unions. Away with it! "Why cumbreth it the land?"

MURDER IN MADRID

Thousands of people attended the funeral of a young anarchist trade union organiser, who was beaten to death by guards in Madrid's Carabanchel prison, on March 13th. Augustin Rueda Sierra was beaten up by ten warders who were investigating the discovery of an escape tunnel.

Augustin, who was only 25, was buried in his home town of Sallents, a week after his murder. The CNT, of which he was an active member, called a general strike in the area, and has demanded the resignation of the Interior Minister. The Governor of Carabanchel jail, and two other senior officials have already been sacked, and the 10 warders suspended without pay. At least 7 other prisoners were beaten during

the same interrogations.

MADRID MURDER

The evil that Franco did survives him. The system goes on notwithstanding the pretence, and even the attempts at reform and greater openness in public expression. The same people run the prisons with the same mentality; the same prison directors; the same police and the same Guardia Civil outside; the same Governors.

This explains the behaviour of the guards in Carabanchel prison, that notorious penitentiary in Madrid, where as the result of torture and ill-treatment, our comrade Augustin Rueda Sierra died the other week.

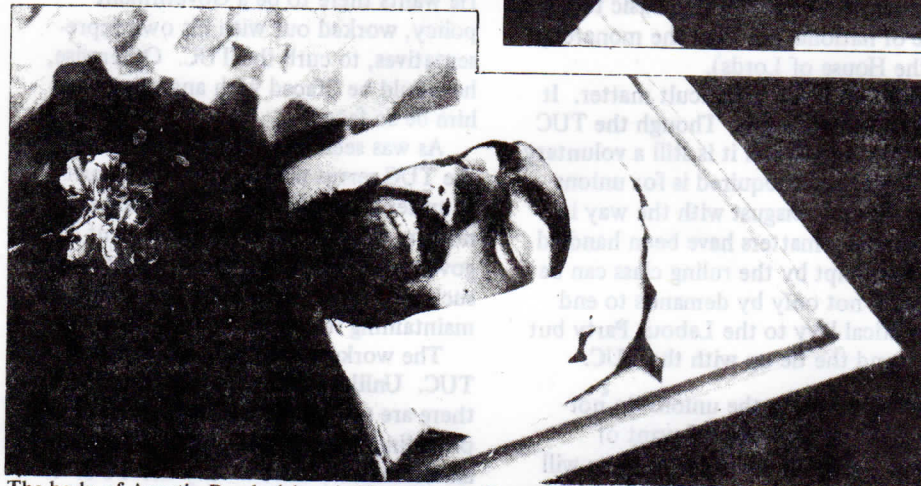
A tunnel was discovered leading out of the prison, and various prisoners were "interrogated" in connection with it. Among that group of prisoners was the young CNT member, Augustin Rueda. After being beaten and tortured he was taken to the cells. He asked for medical attention but was refused it; and at 11.30 that night, he died.

Ten prison functionaries were accused of the murder by lawyers acting for the prisoners; and the sinister fact appeared that Rueda was left to die in the condemned cell, suggesting premeditated murder by the guards.

The CNT immediately called a demonstration against the prison officials concerned.

Within a few days the Director General of Prisons, senior Jesus Haddad,

was shot dead by gunmen from the GRAPO. The GRAPO is one of those shadowy groups on the fringe of the Maoists, its intentions being to act always 'in advance' of the anarchists, presenting a picture of greater military preparedness. They are generally denounced by other Maoists; while the Anarchists cannot (in logic — some do) criticise them for these activities, their aim is to try to steal the anarchists' thunder and so make a bid for "working class leadership." The CNT disclaimed the shooting of Haddad, which may have been in retaliation for the killing of



The body of Agustin Rueda (above); Maria Rueda Sierra, his sister, who told reporters he was murdered.

Rueda (or may have been because one of the escapers was a Maoist).

In "retaliation" for the shooting of Haddad, the notorious fascists gunmen/

secret police off duty organisation AAA (Triple A) tried to carry out a dynamite attack on the workers' centre the CNT local in Madrid.

France — Stop Press

Anarchist Group claims attack in France. The Grupo Autonomo Agustin Ruedo (the name of the young Spanish anarchist murdered two weeks ago in Carabanchel prison) claimed responsibility for the

bomb which exploded in Montpellier prison yesterday.

The bomb, which exploded early on a Saturday morning, was a powerful one which destroyed a considerable part of the main prison entrance and broke

In the swoop upon the libertarian movement — instigated by the political parties and vertical trade unions, jealous of the CNT — made by the police, there have been 250 arrests in Madrid and 177 in Barcelona alone. Among them are four French Anarchists, Isabelle Loeb, Victor Simal, Oscar Magro and Bernard Pensiot. In a shameful attack on them by the Paris journal *Le Matin* — always anxious to throw French resistance fighters to the wolves — they are actually alleged to be associated with the notorious Intelligence agent "Carlos." All were therefore tortured by the Spanish police to make them "confess" a crime which lies directly at the door of *Le Matin*. (Do you wonder why, in Italy, the Red Brigades, in imitation of the IRA, kneecap certain journalists?)

The armed struggle has now become indelibly associated with the so-called *autonomous groups* (Anarchists: not to be confused with the dissident Maoist GRAPO also associated with the armed struggle) they are fighting against the same Guardia Civil, the same secret police, the same prison system and guards, the same military forces, that made up the Franco repression.

Almost all the political prisoners in Spain now are members of the CNT; the anarchists and the 'ordinary' prisoners are united in COPEL — the prisoners' organisation that is struggling for amnesty for all prisoners convicted under the Franco regime. **Miguel Garcia**

windows in nearby houses.

In a communique issued a few hours later the GAL claimed responsibility and demanded the release of various militants of the groups arrested in Madrid and Barcelona.

LORENZO "KOMBOA" ERVIN

Saturday 13th May will be KOMBOA DAY. It is hoped that the weekend Friday, Saturday and Sunday (12-14 May) will be a time for international demonstrations demanding Komboa's release. Komboa has paid enough for opposing the slaughter in Vietnam — release him NOW!

The world must demand the release of this anarchist fighter.

In his latest letter to us Lorenzo adds:

To make absolutely sure that I did not have a chance to fight against the charges filed against me, I was beaten and placed under the influence of sedative drugs (Thorazine) which were forcibly administered to me by jail guards at the Fulton County Jail in Atlanta, Georgia, where I had been confined awaiting trial. The drugs clouded my



consciousness to such an extent that I don't know what was going on at the trial, and the next thing I knew the jury said "Guilty". But the whole thing is that the Judge, United States Attorney, and my State-appointed attorneys were fully aware of my "doped-up" condition, but they deliberately allowed the trial to be held anyway. To add to this obvious injustice, the attorneys appointed to represent me were totally incompetent, unconcerned and uncooperative; they actually collaborated with the government in covering up the facts of my torture and kidnapping by government agents, and helped to quietly convict me. Over my strenuous objections and taking advantage of my drug-induced confused state, these attorneys asserted an "insanity" defence to the charges,

stating that I was "temporarily insane" at the time of the "crime." They did this so as to stigmatise anything I might say, no matter how shocking, as the "ravings of a madman." Thus no one would believe me when I told them my story, until years later, when the CIA and FBI admitted such crimes.

In solidarity,

Lorenzo Komboa Ervin.

No. 18759 - 175,

P.O. Box 1000,

Marion, IL 62959, USA.

THE BLACK STRUGGLE

An effort is to be made by Black anarchists to form an International black organisation against racism, colonialism and Imperialism. "It may not be called that, but that will be the function." Such a group could also be used to support black political prisoners of whom there are many in the States — and who have the example of Martin Sostre before them, showing them that it is possible to win out sometimes despite the opposing forces.

It is thought by those brothers and sisters who are starting the project that this might be also an organisation for the propagation of libertarian communist views in the African revolution too. Our comrade Lorenzo Komboa Ervin — now in his ninth year of imprisonment for "war crimes" — i.e. opposing the Vietnam War — writes:

"Right now, as you know, Marxian "State Communism" predominates in the African Revolution (and in fact the whole anti-colonial/anti-racist, anti-imperialist struggle world-wide!) This is because libertarian communism has not been consistently and properly propagated to the oppressed masses of Africa, Asia, Latin America and Oceania (or even Europe and N. America for that matter!) State "Communism" has really been unopposed, and actually adopted for want or knowledge of any alternative. As a result people look upon the regimes in China, Russia or Cuba as "communist workers' states." They don't know what true communism is and thus react very negatively to anarchist communism. On the other hand some react negatively to the very idea of communism, thanks to the State dictatorships of the Stalinists.

To me and those who know better, especially those libertarian communist revolutionaries, it is our responsibility to propagate and **struggle** to make the truth know. The future is anarchist."

Lorenzo is typical of many young revolutionaries who went into action thinking on Marxist-Leninist; or Third World lines, but who have become anarchists as a result of their experiences in struggle and in jail. These range through many nations and the number is now formidable. The project of an international black revolutionary organisation is historic. It is not the first black Anarchist movement. But in a previous generation black revolutionaries thought that as we are opposed to nationalism they should make nothing of their origins. It was quite unknown, for instance, that Lucy Parsons was black, or mostly so.

Thus such movements that did arise had no special significance other than as yet another anarchist group; the Black workers passed them over thinking them just a variation on the socialist movement. They were ideologically correct, but they made no impact. Now, Black militants realise it is necessary that Black workers understand their identity.

RHODESIA~SETTLED FOR THE SETTLERS

The Rhodesian settlement plan signed in Salisbury on 3rd March by Ndabaningi Sithole, Bishop Muzorewa, Chief Chirau and Ian Smith is a classic document in neo-colonialism. The 'Guardian' finds only minor criticisms of the plan and considers: "as a set of constitutional proposals it is perfectly proper." (4.3.78). Joshua Nkomo and Robert Mugabe, representing themselves as speaking on behalf of the guerrillas fighting the Rhodesian armed forces, reject the settlement — the main reason being one suspects that their own names are absent from the proposals.

As things stand Nkomo has been outmanoeuvred by the African nationalists who compromised with Smith — the 'Guardian' recalls "the new agreement exactly matches what Mr. Joshua Nkomo said just over two years ago he would demand at his negotiations with Mr. Smith: that is, a guarantee of majority rule at the end of the transitional period and a government based on majority rule in the meantime."

Britain and the United States have been yet again made to look foolish by Smith. These two governments are left

uneasily supporting the Patriotic Front that Mugabe and Nkomo claim to lead, noting that moves in the right direction have been made. They are really just waiting for the right time to give their assent to the deal. Perhaps if Nkomo and his aide Josiah Chinamano are brought into the settlement plan and the number of white MPs guaranteed is cut from 28 to 20 (and can block changes in the constitution of consequence for six instead of ten years) then the whole package will be tied up for acceptance by the Organisation of African Unity, the United Nations and the rest. Buying off Mugabe would then be fairly easy.

Countless times the British Government has tried and failed to get Smith to agree to the type of settlement agreed in Salisbury — it should escape no one's attention that Sithole, Muzorewa and their negotiators have gained the settlement where Britain has failed. There may be economic considerations in the timing agreed by Smith, the fact remains however that the Rhodesian settlers have managed to pull off a settlement that changes no fundamental privilege in that country for an established

hierarchy.

Let us just take a look at the settlers' plan in some detail: Among the matters agreed are the following: 1. The independence and qualifications of the judiciary will be entrenched and judges will have security of tenure. 2. The Public Services Board will have security of tenure and will be responsible for appointments to, promotions in, and discharges from, the public service. 3. There will be protection from deprivation of property unless adequate compensation is paid promptly. 4. Pension rights will be protected.

It is doubtful whether a recent Cinefuegos Press publication "Land and Liberty" providing the writings of Ricardo Flores Magon as regards the Mexican Revolution, is likely to influence those involved with deciding the future of Rhodesia, but at least we ourselves can use Magon's writings effectively with relation to Rhodesia. Take this sample: "Violence was the origin of private property in the land, and by violence it has been upheld to our own days . . . Private property in land is based on crime and, by that very

fact, is an immoral institution . . . For its protection there have become necessary the army, the judiciary, parliament, police, the prison, the scaffold, the church, the government and a swarm of employers and donres." How exact is that description of what has happened in Rhodesia during the last century — there, in the words of Magon "the Earth has been divided up among a few bandits who appropriated it by force, or among the descendants of those bandits, who have come into possession through the so-called right of inheritance."

The main message of Magon is one that the whole Third World needs to listen to: — political revolution does not encompass economic revolution. Political change is everywhere taking place in Africa, economic change — in the way in which people relate to each other at work — is rare. Political liberty requires economic liberty to be effective. When the rich enjoy economic liberty, they alone benefit by political liberty.

To Magon: "To shed blood only to place in power another robber who oppresses the people is nothing but a crime." He urges: "Crush by action the so-called right of property but not so that you shall possess yourselves individually with that which your masters have now, since then you will convert yourself into a master, you will oppress your brothers The land which is to be taken away from the bourgeois, ought not to be for you alone, not for a few, but for all without distinction of sex . . ."

So in Rhodesia in the settlement plan the judges who supported Smith in his rebellion, who cravenly supported the imposition of the death sentence on countless defenceless people — those whose number and name have never been made publicly known — these judges are to remain. There is no justice there and Smith and his supporters must have only satisfaction in this, the civil servants — the permanent bureaucrats

of oppression remain — their pensions, the gifts of the robbers to their servants, are guaranteed. Above all, however, there will be protection of private property — and if it should have to be abandoned "adequate compensation" should be "promptly paid" — whith those judges and civil servants having security of tenure that would seem to be assured!

Thus the settlers have a settlement in their interests with compliant African nationalists. One wonders whether the African guerrillas are sufficiently aware of the meaningfulness of expropriation in their social struggle — yet now, if they have any basis for continuing to be taken seriously it is the take over of the land they need to plan for. Too often they are fighting by frightening the African population — they need to realise that it is time for the African people of Zimbabwe to exert their strength by organising for the liberation of the land.

J.W.

THE STORY OF AN AFRICAN PRISONER OF WAR HERMAN BELL SPEAKS

Herman Bell is a 30-year old Black political prisoner-of-war, at the Marion Federal Penitentiary in Marion, Illinois. He is serving what amounts to a Life term in prison for his activities in the Black Liberation Movement. Like the SLA or the RAF many of the Black Panther movement are coming to anarchism in jail. He states:

"To begin, firstly, I am a member of the Black Liberation Army, and due to the violent repression of the Black Panther Party, brought on by the concerted efforts of State and federal Government officials, well, for all practical purposes and intent the Black Panther Party was destroyed, and in consequence the Black Liberation Army emerged as an offshoot of the B.P.P.; you might say that the old Panthers were reborn again. The Black Liberation Army's political line is much like that of the old Panther Party. Characteristically the BLA is a military and political front. We are military in the sense of practising community self-defence against racist or colonial police attack against Black people, and in addition, we recognise armed struggle to be the sole means whereby Black and

poor people in general throughout the world can attain their liberty. Black people in the USA seek political and economic independence, and thus once and for all to rid themselves of US imperialism in the form of colonial domination of the Black nations.

Again like the old Panthers, we seek community control of our neighbourhoods, at the same time to rid ourselves of the parasites who grow sleek and fat off the exploitation of our people, the capitalist merchant who takes everything of value from our communities and gives back nothing in return, and this reducing our people to beggars and our community to an unfit and undesirable place to live. Moreover, this warped economic relationship is the source of unbearable misery and hardship for Black people, of which results most noticeably in Black-on-Black crimes and the prostitution of our women. Other prominent features of this warped colonial economy is: substandard housing, poor health care, inadequate educational facilities, coupled with chronic unemployment, etc., which creates unsafe, undesirable and unacceptable conditions of life in the Black colony. But the most dangerous element in our community is the colonial police force, who patrol our community in the name of white capitalist "law-

and-order." Due to their particular functional and brutal conduct in our community, the name "Pig" aptly characterises them. We perceive them to be an occupying army in our community, and the Black community to be a Colony. They are garrisoned in the Black colony to suppress rebellion, protect the coloniser's property and to intimidate Black and poor people in general. The police and the American criminal (in)justice system functions to maintain existing unjust societal arrangements between the "haves and Have nots", the ruling class capitalists and the working class.

In this light, the charge of Federal Bank Robbery against me takes on a wider and deeper meaning, for we of the Black Liberation Army are determined to rid our community of all parasites and "gobbling elements" who live off the people and produce nothing, by any means necessary, including the armed seizure and expropriation of their illegally gotten capital. The Black Liberation Army waged war against the Capitalist state, using urban guerrilla warfare. During this war many comrades were killed or captured as a result of the government counter-insurgency campaign. Many other comrades were forced to go underground.

I was captured in New Orleans, Louisiana on September 2, 1973, based upon a fugitive warrant charging me with Bank Robbery and the assassination of two New York City colonial policemen. I had been underground, and it was only as a result of the most brutal torture

inflicted upon three of my captured comrades in the New Orleans police headquarters, that led to my capture. The New Orleans Police Department, Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) New York City Police Department, and the San Francisco Police Department all had taken part in the capture and torture of my comrades, and thus learned of my whereabouts. Let me tell you something: physical torture is a painful thing in itself, but more so when a "cattle prod" is introduced to your genitals to give them an electrical shock, and to have your penis pricked with a sewing needle time and time again, is truly inhuman. And then can you imagine a slimy sack being put over your head and tied around your neck, and on top of that, having a foreign object forcibly stuck down your throat to induce vomiting, coupled with brutal beatings for a solid week? Well, this is just *part* of what "law enforcement" officials subjected my comrades to in the police headquarters in New Orleans, just to find out where I was staying.

Upon my capture, I was rushed to police headquarters for interrogation; it's pointless and would be repetitious to repeat what happened to me there, but I'll just say that my torture even exceeded that of my comrades in its savagery. How thrilled they were to put their hands on me!

Eventually I was kidnapped from the New Orleans jail and brought to New York City by federal Marshalls, in blatant defiance of my so-called Constitutional Right to an extradition hearing. In New York, I was indicted for the assassination of patrolmen Waverly Jones and Joseph Piagentini, two brutal colonial policemen assigned to the Black community. The Prosecution was in its glory. It seems that while the cops were out looking for me, the Prosecutor had been given a blank cheque to set up in grand style his three star witnesses — paid informers, who, incidentally had been on his payroll for over three years. They were professional witnesses, and the bill for their services, even the prosecutor will admit, was in excess of \$400,000.00. With such sigh-priced witnesses, a stacked jury selection box and a judge in the Prosecutor's corner, it wasn't the *question* of whether there *would be* a conviction, but rather *how soon it was to be done!* But, fortunately, on the jury sat a few brave, honest souls, who refused to be swayed by the crocodile tears and fake lament of the police department, or be deceived by their high-priced liars, even though the Prosecutor had a silver tongue and his informants gave the impression of having been "born to the job." Thanks to our jurors'

courage and sense of honesty, we had a hung jury (mistrial); they simply refused to convict, and therefore "Round 2" was in the making. Meanwhile I was shipped to San Francisco, California to face a Bank Robbery charge there.

Upon my appearance in federal court for Bank Robbery, I was offered a 15 year guilty plea "bargain" by the US Attorney who threatened me with the maximum of 25 years in prison if I didn't accept. My reply was for him to "get 12 jurors and come on with it." They did, and went one further by installing a "Black" juror in the box to show they were not being racist; the remaining jurors being White and of middle class background. The Prosecutor also bent over double to give the appearance of being "fair." But after three years of eluding my captors, facts and faces about the case had become bleary to the government witnesses, therefore upon my appearance in the courtroom, the Prosecutor had all of his witnesses sitting in the back row of the courtroom, thus, *making absolutely sure* that they would identify me as the robber. Naturally I was convicted and sentenced to 25 years in federal prison after such a "fair trial." By the time this railroading in federal court was over, the New York City authorities were awaiting my presence to start anew more "courtroom roulette."

Along with my two BLA comrades, Albert Washington and Anthony Bottom, we were convicted of assassinating Patrolmen Jones and Piagentini, and each sentenced to two 25-year life prison terms, with the added stipulation that we were not to be eligible for parole until we had fully served 20 calendar years in prison! We had been convicted amid a lynch mob atmosphere in New York; the Rockefeller-controlled press screamed for the "death of the BLA" and eternal imprisonment for all us "mad dog cop killers" and "terrorists." They hoped to make the people, and especially Black people, think that we would just attack *anyone* blindly, rather than just the Pigs who are in control of our oppression, and those who do their dirty work as soldiers like Jones and Piagentini.

If you would like to help or would like more information write to:

Audrey A. Myers, Director,
National Committee to Support The
Marion Brothers (NCSMB)
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The French Elections

The Elections and the Real Situation in France — March 1978.

We are not going to repeat here the anarchist arguments against elections. Let us just say that the number of years that passes from one constitution to the next makes the constitutions useless: imagine a car being serviced only once every 4, 5 or 7 years; also the laws and decrees are so complicated that the government can completely block every parliamentary or municipal action by refusing or delaying the granting of credits. All this is apart from the complete and utter lack of control and the fact that it is impossible for the electors to recall the elected. Thus, whether you are for or against elections in theory, the present system is ineffective, useless. In the case of France, it's a farce: the basic problems never come up.

It could be said in objection to this that the ecological candidates have a part to play, as does the weight exercised by the anti-nuclear partisans and the feminist groups. This would be true if they presented a complete and thorough analysis of exploitation in French economic and political life, but no group to my knowledge is proposing this. And thus all the political groups, from anarchists to fascists, are united to put the workers to sleep and to make them forget their responsibility.

There are three principal elements that prevent the French economy bogging down and sinking out of sight.

1. Exploitation of the ex-colonies in Africa. All these colonies are now independent, but they all have puppet governments and depend directly on the French embassies, who organise the pillage of raw materials, helped by the cooperative military police and professors. Furthermore, very often, France uses these ex-colonies as a reserve labour power and as a source for agricultural products (pineapples, coffee, cucumbers etc).

We can measure the size of the profit by the extent of the territory controlled: 7 million 776,000 sq. km., with a population of 52 million people. This consists of the following countries: Cameroon, Ivory Coast, Dahomey (or Benin), Gabon, Upper Volta, Madagascar, Mali, Mauretania, Niger, Central African Republic, Senegal, Chad, Togo and the ex-Territory of the Afars and Issas. All these states depend directly on the French Ministry of Defence, and one can judge the benefits of French aid from two characteristics: (a) for example Upper

Volta, Mali and Chad are among the poorest countries in the world; (b) the dictatorships where prisoners disappear, among other delights: Dahomey, Gabon, Madagascar, Mauretania, Niger, Central African Republic, Chad, Togo (the other countries are a shade more liberal).

We can add also 113,000 sq. km., and a million inhabitants in the colonies disguised as a part of France: Guadaloupe, Guyana, Martinique and New Caledonia.

We can notice also the strong influence on Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia (especially Morocco), with 16 million inhabitants and 447,000 sq. km.

If we compare the satellites of France with those of the USSR, one finds that Russia only controls 1,012,000 sq. km., in Europe with 105 million inhabitants (East Germany, Bulgaria, Hungary, Rumania, Poland and Czechoslovakia).

2. This policy of domination originates in France's military power and her role as an arms merchant: the third exporter of arms in the world, corresponding to seven per cent of national exports and 270,000 jobs.

On the surface, the position of the arms industry is not so very important, but there are two important implications, political and economic.

Economically, it must be pointed out that arms production touches all the crucial sectors: aeronautics, which works principally for the armed forces and whose remaining material can also be used for armaments; telecommunications and electronics; the car and shipping industries; various other sectors: LIP, crating (of bombs) clothing etc.

Politically, France sells to all dictatorships on the right (those on the left being supplied by the USSR): Chile, Argentina, Brazil, Zaire, South Africa, Egypt, Libya,

Israel etc.

3. Since the limitation on the entry of foreign labour power (1972) the foreign workers (two million, with their families four million) are a compensation for the development of unemployment. The tendency is more and more to have specialised French workers instead of foreigners. Besides this, the appeal to manual work and the selective national education policy clearly have the purpose of supplying future workers for France.

Exploitation of Blacks, selling arms to fascists, and foreign workers to be progressively got rid of: such is the basis of the standard of life that we have.

France is thus much more Nazi economically than West Germany which terrorist groups like the RAF and Baader are fighting.

What action can we take?

Firstly, to lead towards a raising of consciousness by demanding the shut-down of the arms factories and their transformation into products and installations that would be useful for a long time. That is certainly impossible from a capitalist point of view, but it is morally just and it is interesting to make the bosses and their numerous allies clearly state their aims.

One could also think about refusing to transport all war material, solidarity with sabotage groups and support to the groups of Africans and foreigners against exploitation in their countries.

From an apparently concrete point of view, one could propose a "reformist" programme which would be impossible for the capitalists to implement, although apparently realisable: suppression of the nuclear and military industries. This would provide funds for a retirement age of 55, with a pension of double the

present minimum wage, and equally a wage for studying between the ages of 14 and 24, based on the minimum wage, which could be renewed depending on the results at school (controlled by parents' representatives). Or a twenty hour week with two months paid holiday.

And the crisis?

In fact this question implies a series of positions of the type "the degraded masses will wake up" or "revolutionaries will only have to revolutionise."

In my opinion we must get it into our heads that there is no possibility of a sudden crisis because the blocs of the East and the West (including China) have economies that are more and more enmeshed and imitative (consumption in some being exchanged for repression in others). On the other hand the so-called neutral countries are satellites in as much as their developments and movements from one camp to the other produce changes in the blocs (raising the cost of raw materials, sales of arms for example).

The crisis is much more probable as a saturation of the artificial conditions of life. That is why a complete and thorough analysis, accompanied by a series of propositions, is important, to the extent that it should make reactions to exploitation more violent.

But this violence, so as not to be lost in the rush forwards and in the refusal to analyse its own effectiveness, must be based on the elementary anarchist structures: rotation; recall of delegates by the groups that mandate them; and these groups to be based on affinity in order to limit the infiltration of police.

Jean Chauvin.

IN CHINA NOW

The fall of Saifuddin is the most significant factor in China's counter-revolution; it marks the end of Maoism as we know it. Whatever its internal policies, Peking stood in the camp of something ill-defined as 'The Third World' (whatever the other two were). If it was authoritarian, at least it preached anti-imperialism. Saifuddin represented the most prominent of this so-called anti-imperialism which gradually changed merely to being the support of selected nationalism. This is not internationalism. Every imperialist nation has had its favoured 'little nations' or oppressed nationalities whom an opposing imperialism invaded or suppressed at its peril. The English used the Armenians against Turkey; the Russians used the

Greeks; the Germans used their own national minorities.

For forty years Saifuddin has been the organiser of Mongolia and the Mohammedan countries adjacent to China bringing these nations into line with the Chinese "fatherland." Now he is disgraced. The policy is now discredited. It was all the fault of the 'Gang of Four'. These nations are trying to become 'little kingdoms.' "Saifuddin's head must fall! Down with the Gang of Four! One China!"

During his lifetime, Chairman Mao embodied in himself the roles of Stalin and Trotsky. He learned from history: he played the Stalinist dictator and the Trotskyist critic of the bureaucracy. The Party suffered for its Stalinist policies while carrying them out. The bureau-

cracy was humiliated. It was used like a prostitute and scorned for doing what it was paid to do. Now since Mao's death, the little bureaucrats creep out and take their revenge on Madame Mao. *She* wanted to be Empress! — not *he* Emperor, not our beloved Tse-tung! *She* was the parasite, the preacher of the wrong road, the one who messed up the cultural revolution! "Burn the witch!" — but does not burning the widow remind one more of India, of the practice of suttee?

The Case of Fang

Behind the seemingly crazy charade played by the new rulers of China, like a sick comedy in which bad actors throw heated exchanges from a ham script at one another — "Who cheated our beloved

chairman at cards?"; "Who played jazz tunes while our beloved chairman was dying?" — lies not just a struggle for power but a recession by China into State rule for its own sake to maintain its functionaries. Its communism is but a different form of exploitation from that of capitalism. All are working for the State and not for a private capitalist; but for all the good it does them, they might as well be making fortunes for capitalists or imperialist invaders. The people are being exploited by a machine and the man who wound it up has died.

In the March 'China Reconstructs' reported in the English press the case of Fang Yeh ling is given to illustrate the judicial system. He is in no way was prominent as the Gang of Four or the anti-imperialist Saifuddin. He was a factory worker who stole from a lorry.

How was Fang treated in the 'socialist' 'new' China? Be sure he was trembling when he faced a 'People's Court' for had they decided it was wilful sabotage or high treason or had a political motive, he could have lost his life. Even a prison sentence could mean staying in for years or for ever; with an ideological brainwashing that ensured he would 'petition' the authorities to keep him in for a further term, or 'confessing his faults' apply for his 'correction' in prison for indefinite years. Even 'adultery' leads many to spend years in prison cells or correctional training, (though what correction is supposed to mean in this context is all part of the sick humour of Maoist jargon).

Fang's judge — ordering him to face his workmates and receive their criticism (a neat trick which can make ones workmates into enemies by obliging them to sit in judgment or face judgment) — said 'Fang was a victim of the harmful influence of Mrs Mao's Gang of Four who had to "create chaos, wilfully violated revolutionary law and order, preached anarchism and incited people to fighting, smashing things and grabbing everything they wanted". It is true that revolutionary anarchism does question the value of asking for bread when one can take the bakery. This was the spectre that the judges were trying in Fang's case. But his fellow workers said they would try to help him. The real culprits were, they said — with the cynicism now prevalent in China — the Gang of Four who had 'poisoned minds.' Fang said he had "fallen for the anarchism that the Gang of Four preached" and in return for his confession and the assurance given to 'help' him, he got a suspended sentence.

And this episode is only an illustrative one. But does it not throw a lot of light on China today? And upon the spectre of anarchism in China in particular?



Chairman Hua Kuo-feng delivers the political report to the Eleventh National Congress of the Communist Party of China.

Maoism Without Mao

Declared Prof. Han Yu-tung, deputy director of the Law Institute of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences: "In order to suppress the enemy and protect the people it is not yet possible to abolish capital punishment in China."

One would have thought if in eight thousand years of the Chinese State it was not yet possible to abolish capital punishment, it never would be. Prof. Han held out hopes for the future, though . . . once a "stable situation for the socialist revolution" was achieved — which Russia doesn't seem to have managed in sixty years but may within the next 60,000. He was asked how it could be justified. The reply was — need one say? — to quote Mousey Tongue: "those who owe blood debts should be unhesitatingly sentenced to death, likewise the traitors."

For the rest, Prof. Han reiterated the theme of dangerous revolutionaries, the preservation of law and order and the danger of anarchy. No wonder Nixon and Thatcher are so popular in China!

Yet why should Maoism be popular outside China among militants and revolutionaries? What trace of any bias or favour to the workers is left even in the authoritarian communism of Maoism? In what other than its collectivism — which in no way benefits the working people — does it differ from law-and-order conservatism? In what way does it differ from conservatism in its military and penitentiary systems at all? Mao's social system resembles any capitalist Army. It is civilian militarism. But whom does it benefit?

In China itself, of course, it benefits those in ruling positions, the officers of the nation's army — that is to say, the bureaucrats, the Party apparatchiks . . . though in the state of fear engendered

**LOVED HIM
-COULDN'T
STAND HER**

first by Mao himself, and then by his enemies in the saddle chasing his widow as a devil effigy of his god self. But outside China, why do people still declare themselves Maoist? At a time when Stalinism is rejected and spat upon by all why do they resurrect it only because of the burden placed upon them by the required "anti-revisionism" attendant upon being a Maoist? They are revolutionaries, most of them — there are a few paid servants, not a few businessmen cashing in on the Chinese trade by professing ideological sympathy, but not all. Why trouble to call themselves Maoist?

The answer is saddening.

First there are the activists in Europe and among some Black militants in the USA and various "third world" nationalists who pick up Maoism because it seems to them that it is the only way of struggle. These people usually have not heard of anarchism or know only the caricature presented by the liberal pacifist variant. A great university industry churns out the Marxist-Leninist propaganda which services Maoism among other doctrines; Anarchism is something they read of in the newspapers but it does not occur to them that it exists, or they see the variant, particularly in the USA.

But secondly, there are the disillusioned old militants. They go into Maoism because they see in it a chance to have that "success among the workers" which they have been denied. Old-time Marxist militants, trade union fighters, shop stewards, perhaps formerly CP or Labour leaders, they feel they have shot their bolt. They have struggled and lost out in the material things of life for a revolution of which they now despair; and have the further humiliation of seeing the workers, in alienation from Marxism, turn away from the left wing altogether. Where some turn to domestic life and some turn to drink, they turn to Maoism: an old militant, with some footing in the trade union movement, can always get a footing in the bureaucracy, speaking in a personal capacity and tour Albania or China itself to frenzied applause of "real" masses acclimating the leader of the revolutionary struggle in the imperialist heartland Act out your fantasies

in China! The Russians have had the real thing in foreign delegations — workers representatives to some extent for a long time and are not to be fooled; but the Chinese are . . . one supposes they are, but indeed, the Party does not need the *real* thing, it only wants a monkey on a stick to dangle to their proletariat. If need be they will show a Norwegian student or an American hippy as a Maoist leader of the working class and the punters will look on clapping as they

are told the “rest of the world will soon follow our example” . . . though perhaps they mutter “poor fools” . . .

What is a Maoist programme for Britain? It is not revolution they consider but the latest guided tours, the latest Party excursions to the “workers fatherland” . . . Yet this farce imposes itself on others; for meanwhile activists in other countries are fooled that Maoism represents a “third world” force whose progress cannot be denied — that it

exists not just in China, but Britain, Norway, USA . . . that it is more revolutionary than Trotskyism and generates its own factions more prolifically (always a temptation to the university industry) and provides a ready made leadership — from the university industry — always a temptation (alas) to some workers. But it is to these worker activists, that one needs to put the anarchist position — often tacked on to them by the press and as often vigorously denied.

A SPANISH DIARY

To keep comrades up to date with the continually changing situation in Spain we are publishing a resume of the articles published to date in the superbly produced and stimulating and original Spanish anarchist journal *Bicicleta* which can be obtained from Campo Abierto Ediciones, calle Pinilla del Valle 1, Madrid 2, Spain (1000 pesetas for 12 issues). The resume has been prepared for us by comrade Paul Sharkey.

Bicicleta No 2, December '77.

A report on the Spanish “Social Contract” — “Once again the Government has strung along the trade union leaders the same way it did earlier with the politicians of the so-called “opposition.”

Economic and strike news from Cadiz and Linares.

A report from a CNT member of the recent strike by petrol pump attendants in Barcelona. On the fourth day of the strike the CC.OO said, “Back to work!” The few CC.OO members in the section tore up their membership cards and membership in the CNT (in the job section) rose to 90%.

A report from a CNT member on a united front demo against the cost of living and unemployment. “My painful conclusion, in the light of this demonstration is that we cannot move forward in step with the CC.OO, UGT and USO. Our interests are quite different and we are already strong and conscious enough to come up with our own alternatives, ones with more value than the outward show of a controlled day of mobilisation.”

A denunciation of all the proliferating parties and policies. “The truth is that we are tired of always hearing them talk to us of sacrifices to get us out of this crisis in the system. We workers have always been in crisis and as yet we have not seen any planned solution to our problems.”

What lies behind the trade union elections. “The Government is well aware that these elections are the key to the workers’ movement’s future and

must come up with hierarchical, bureaucratised forms of organisation, eliminating once and for all, the risk of workers’ self-organisation.”

Report on Germany, on RAF the rebuilding of the FAUD and the anti-nuclear movement. “On the field of armed violence the State has everything to gain. If resistance is possible, we must find new and many-sided roads: anti-nuclear campaigns, anarcho-syndicalist reconstruction both show that such roads do exist.”

The introduction to a series of viewpoints, quotes, appeals, open letters and so on: “In a way reminiscent of the 30s syndicalists rejecting all ideological definition but zealous in the cause of workers’ autonomy, on the one hand, and the “faistas” distrustful of any heterodoxy in the old confederation which they aim to protect. Then, on the other hand, we have a number of currents spawned by the new Spanish reality who ask themselves and each other, inside the organisation that has opened its doors to them: “marxist plants”? Councillists? Anarcho-communists? Who shall say? With this present dossier *Bicicleta* wants to present some of the documents circulating so profusely inside the unions, and which, we believe ought not to be concealed from the workers. As a result our pages are available for any fresh contributions to this debate.”

This is a superb magazine with never a dull moment, well-produced and designed — a bargain at 60 pesetas an issue. I’d recommend it to anyone.

***Bicicleta* No. 3 — January 1978**

Pages 4 to 11 are given over to discussion of the union elections and the various dissensions it has created in the CNT’s ranks. The government has allowed the employers and the larger union groupings (all party to a Spanish social contract) to oversee these elections which are organised on a firm by firm basis. “In the old days the regime would appoint a Giron or a Salis, but nowadays we are allowed a choice between a

Redondo or a Camacho, both backed by serious parties, signatories to the Contract.” The plan of the Workers’ Commissions is . . . “to capitalise on their infiltration into the fascist vertical syndicates to secure a dominant position among the leaders of the new, bureaucratic Social-contract style unionism” . . . “Once again the workers are being asked to delegate their autonomous decision making power to smiling representatives promising the earth, who can be instantly integrated into the power game of the parties, employers and the State, with the workers’ assemblies reduced to mere echo chambers whose function it is to applaud or grumble, but without any real power to decide.” CNT members are torn between participating in the elections at local level or boycotting as an organisation. Some argue that “affiliation to the CNT is the alternative to the elections.” Those emphasising the local assemblies are prone to manipulation by FRAP, to local chauvinism and so on. On the other hand, those who dismiss them fail to distinguish between imposed elections and grassroots self-organisation. *Bicicleta* (p.6) points out that “genuine assemblies and union branches are not necessarily contradictory; together they amount to a workers’ alternative to electionism.” Together they are guarantees against bureaucracy and manipulation by the parties, through their being “sovereign assemblies of workers” and “workers’ self organisation.” *Bicicleta* emphasises that this approach would be in line with the classic anarcho-syndicalist approach. The CNT should oppose, not so much the elections as such, as elections mounted as a power-play and propaganda exercise for the parties and their social contract.

A statement from the CNT’s Local (Barcelona) Federation states, “The government is not a “moderating” power but the faithful representative of the ruling class. Why does the State seek to impose those union elections? Because it suits the capitalists to install the

parliamentary model in their firms with those elected being awarded special paramount powers that set them apart from their electors. These elected bodies of workers would be something akin to what the factory panels were under Franco: a direct route to the social contract and manipulation of the workers." A text from the Barcelona group of Bicicleta holds that the elections are to domesticate the unions just as the Moncloa Palace Agreement (for a social contract) drew the teeth of the political opposition. "It is easier for the bourgeoisie to reach an agreement with the functionaries of the political or trade union bureaucracies than with the workers' assemblies. So, for the bourgeois and their state it is a question of eliminating the assemblies and making these bureaucracies, known as "vanguards" or "cadres" the main actor." The group advocates that libertarians operate through the revocable, informal, consensus organs of the assembly. This as a way of pursuing the class struggle and avoiding party differences or manipulation by the parties. "The Social Contract, were it to come into effect, would be tantamount to the workers renouncing any change in their condition as the exploited." (p.9).

Just how deep the divisions the issue has raised is clear from a report on the Valencia CNT, where those working through the elections (over 300 of them) were expelled. (p.10).

Page 15: A report on the recent riots and one death in demonstrations for autonomous Malaga. A general strike was called which was a phenomenal success whilst the parties were calling for calm and an enquiry into the death of Jose Manuel Garcia Caparros.

P.16-17: A report on the Canaries and recent disturbances there. P 18-19 A report on strikes on progress. P 22-25 "How to sabotage dictatorships - Argentina 1978" An outline of the "direct action" approach in the labour movement from the 19th century, through FORA and Peronism to the present day. Although a specifically anarchist movement does not exist outside a tiny FORA and "La Protestas" and "Reconstruir" the tradition of direct action lives on - perhaps more vital than ever - in some of the most unexpected places. "The Peronist slogan 'only the people shall save the people' became, by 1973, the slogan of the Anti-imperialist front in Cordoba." The liberation of the workers will be the work of the workers themselves. No more and no less than the anti-authoritarian message of the First International." "The unionism rising out of the ashes of Videla's dictatorship may be a lot closer to the anarcho-

syndicalism of its origins than even the "official libertarians" in Argentina might reckon and closer than the dead-weight CGT bureaucracy would wish." 35 - the AIT (IWMA) an exchange of opinions on its failings, present and past, and its possible future, from 'El Pelao', A. Meltzer, T. Marcellan and Jose Elizalde. News of AIT sections or overtures to AIT sections in Germany (FAU) Norway (NSF) USI (Italy) in addition to the IWW, CNT and SAC (Sweden).

P.40-41: The current prisoners' campaign in Spanish jails. A letter from inside Ocana prison says "I am writing to do something, to help if possible, bring the repression to an end, or at least so that the people may learn how life long "democrats" treat their most marginal and unprotected members." Also (p.41) a report on a petrol bomb attack on a CNT office in Barcelona, following a suggestion in El Pais that CNT members were implicated in a plan to kidnap the Justice Minister. Bicicleta asks: Who Are The Terrorists?

P.42-44: Antiauthoritarian schools in Berlin. P.45-47: The athenaeums, as a fill in for the deficiencies of the Neighborhood Associations which have lost a lot of their impetus and energy and more or less petered out. Unlike the bourgeois or party athenaeums . . . "There is only one body in our athenaeums with decision making powers . . . the assembly of the athenaeum, which is always open, never closed, to the participation of the neighbours of the barrio."

P.48: An anti-nuclear demo in Guadalupe. "When three comrades went along to the Civil Governor to learn of the fate of those arrested, the governor, thinking they were from the CP, went along to receive them but refused to have anything to do with them when he learned that they were only ecologists." P.49 - letters page.

Bicicleta No. 4 - February/March 1978

Just how profoundly things have (not) changed in Spain is clear from this issue of Bicicleta. On page 9 we have a report on charges brought against theatre director Albert Boadella of the Els Joglars trompe for "insulting and offending the Armed Forces." The appropriate CNT union called a total strike in the industry for 22 December. The 115 cinemas in Barcelona, Hospitalet, Santa Coloma etc., shut down - except for the CC.OO controlled Fantasio cinema. Night-clubs were also included in the shut-down, among them the Scala in Barcelona.

P.4-8. On January 15, the Scala was gutted, following a firebomb attack which resulted in the death of 4 workers,

2 from the UGT and 2 from the CNT. This followed a number of threats against the establishment, the last of which had arrived 15 days before. Almost immediately a media campaign of distortion tried to lay the atrocity at the door of the CNT. The Bicicleta investigation of the circumstances surrounding the bombing links the "provocation" with the CNT demo the previous day in which some 9000 people paraded to show their opposition to the Moncloa Pact - the Spanish social contract, to which CC.OO, or rather the CP and other parties have given their consent. Not altogether unconnected with this is the fact that the first bid to link the CNT with the outrage (in defiance of evidence to the contrary) was made by the paper "Noticiero Universal" noted for its hostility to the CNT, and whose workforce is CC.OO. Anarchism's revival was lamented and anarchists dismissed as "vulgar assassins." Bicicleta notes . . . "As in May 1937, Stalinism and the bourgeoisie are trying to undermine that bulwark of the independent labour movement, the CNT." Denials followed and the campaign in fact, appears to have backfired. Metalworkers unions from the CNT, UGT, CC.OO, CSUT, USO, SOC and SU meeting to discuss an industrial agreement were at one in repudiating the attack which they described as "a provocation against the CNT." 75% of the Scala's employees belong to the CNT. The police however, persisted to misrepresent the facts: the attack was blamed on a "CNT commando made up of CNT members belonging to the FAI and JJ.LL." The FAI was described as "the armed wing of the CNT, believing in violence and terrorism." Photos and descriptions of CNT members were published and appeared on TV screens. In Rubi, 22 CNT members were arrested, only to be released shortly after. The CNT threatened to seek damages of 100,000,000 pesetas of the State. The Civil Governor stated: "Of course we don't believe that the CNT had any connection with the fire at the Scala. But as for the police amending their statement, that's outside our competence." The CNT then questioned how a fire supposedly started by a few molotov cocktails did so much damage, questioning the safety regulations and the highly inflammable fittings. The workers were apparently overcome by fumes before being burned. In the Trotskyist "Combat" P. Sugranyes leapt to the defence of the CNT.

P.10-11. A discussion of the recent shopfloor elections in Spain, which the CNT rejected as a play to domesticate the labour movement and arrive as a "tame" leadership with which to sign

the social contract. Some employers in Bajo Llobregat favoured the CC.OO against the CNT. When questioned a CC.OO spokesman said: "We are willing to have a constructive dialogue with the employers." Jose Elizalde of the CNT's national committee explains: "Prior to 1939 there were never any union elections in Spain. In 1978 an attempt is being made to press the Spanish working class into the mould of the bureaucratic unionism of neo-capitalism. Only the CNT is resisting the jettison of the true liberating experiences and traditions of the labour movement, opening up instead the anti-capitalist, self-management alternative needed by the Spanish society of today."

P.16-17 News from Merida (Extremadura) of the libertarian neighbourhood assemblies, backed by the CNT which succeeded in having the deposits and monthly rents of some 500 new homes in the town cut by almost half. The idea has proved such a success that some party-men have been trying to infiltrate and get control — only to be rebuffed by the neighbours, not the CNT itself and asked

where they were during the early days and accused of jumping on the bandwagon. Now a libertarian Athenaeum is planned, consumers' co-operative, adult classes and so on. There are lively signs of a revival by the CNT in this town where the repression was so severe that only in 1950 did the CNT reappear and where some are still a little frightened at the very mention of the name.

P.22-27 An exchange of views between a selection of libertarians on whether or not national liberation movements deserve support.

Ander Retoreca of the Basque "Askatasuna" explains: "Here's what we usually ask the marxist-leninist parties in Euzkadi. What sort of independence can you pursue from a centralist State however Basque it might be? To pursue independence to its conclusion requires that one dispense with this Basque state also (...). Furthermore it must be borne in mind that at a time when multinational capitalism is creating a new structure for its power, such regional reorganisations can be very useful to it,

above all in industrialised areas like Euzkadi or Catalonia."

The general consensus of Spanish, Basque, Argentinian and Uruguayan participants is that social liberation overtakes and comprises National Liberation — that, to keep them free of capitalist manipulation, social struggles ought to be universalised through workers' solidarity and one ought not to fall into the trap of blaming say, Spanish imperialism, but imperialism and authority as such.

Raimundo Congaro of the pre-Videla Buenos Aires Graphical Federation and moving spirit behind the "CGT de los Argentinos" group states: "But no, it's not just the fault of multinationals and imperialism. They order us to build mirages and we, the workers, do so ... That's what happens. What are we doing to bring that to an end, to actively refuse our part in the destruction of humankind (...). Everybody's power is nobody's power, for no one will be able to dominate anyone. This is the road of self-managing socialism."

Paul Sharkey.

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NUMBER FOUR

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We need to raise £3000 to bring out this issue of the Review. You can help by becoming a subscriber (if you are not already), using the C.P. Bookservice regularly and making a donation — or, more importantly, offering us a loan of a substantial sum which would be repaid before the end of the year. Loans received so far — £250 from P.A., £100, P.S. and we have also been promised an advance of £600 by our distributors. **HELP US ACHIEVE OUR TARGET BY NEXT ISSUE!**

ROON 'N' ABOUT

The Harold Wilson Prize for Sincerity

must unquestionably go to Home Secretary Mr. Merlyn Rees for his statement that Klan "Grand Dragon" David Duke couldn't be kept out of the country because "it doesn't say on his American passport that he is a member of the Ku Klux Klan. It is not possible to keep tabs on the nature of all the people coming here as visitors. It doesn't say on British passports that people are Anarchists, but the Home Office is well able to keep tabs on them going out of the country and in certain cases to ban them from entering almost every country. We can find enough proof of this in our own circle. We don't underwrite the State system by saying Klansmen or others should "banned" — but don't give us that lying hypocrisy, Mr. Rees.

Poor Monsters

The Tass agency — which can presumably give straight facts — reports a Soviet scientist as saying that the Siberian "abominable snowman" — the Chuchunaa — "is probably an aboriginal man fleeing civilisation." The Chuchunaa ("the outcast") is said to be a 6ft 6in creature, unable to speak but emitting shrill screams, who lives on berries and raw meat. "The most probable supposition is that the Chuchunaa is the most primitive palaeoasian of Siberia, who has for centuries been fleeing civilisation," said Prof. Semyon Nikolaev.

Nobody can blame the Chuchunaa, human or animal, for "fleeing civilisation". The poor Chuchunaa, too, are only fleeing the most primitive forms of civilisation. If they knew what it had developed into, they would scream even shriller.

Poor Old Girl

Just a month or two before Lady Churchill's death the press was regaling us with sob stories of how hard-up the old lady was, in her mansion in Hyde Park Gate, with only one secretary and a couple of nurses and a bare minimum of servants . . . her "only income" they declared, was her old age pension (no wise bourgeois lives on capital, even at 90) and she was reduced to selling some of her beloved treasures, her paintings . . . at the time it seemed phoney (surely her family could have done something for

her without asking the nation to chip in). But now it seems that she had had destroyed the Graham Sutherland painting of her husband, valued at £100,000. Must have taken a bit of courage for an old lady living on her pension to hack to pieces a fortune just because she thought it revealed something of her late husband she didn't like to face . . .

Coming to London on June 21st! At the Prince Edward Theatre in Old Compton Street (as the Casino Theatre is to be renamed) there will be presented the spectacular musical apologia for Eva Peron, EVITA — telephone 01-437-6877 to say exactly what you think of the former vicious Peronista dictatorship in the Argentine and why you won't be booking tickets for this defence of fascism, and what are they going to put on next . . . Eva Braun's love story with Hitler?

"For my father, nothing was symbolic, nothing allegorical or allusive in any part of Scripture, except what was, in so many words, proffered as a parable or a picture. Pushing this to its extreme limit, and allowing nothing for the changes of scene or time or rate, my parents read injunctions to the Corinthian converts without any suspicion that was was apposite in dealing with . . . colonists of the first century might not exactly apply to respectable English men and women of the nineteenth. They took it, text by text, as if no sort of difference existed between the surroundings of Trimalchion's feast and those of a city dinner." (Edmund Gosse *Father and Son*).

In this passage Gosse gives a description of the primitive evangelism of his parents, a lack of imagination common among religious enthusiasts of the nineteenth century and still not extinct; all in the texts was literal truth and still applied and texts and prophecies for the times could be taken from them. This attitude has been lifted in its entirety by the quasi-religious quasi-scientific religion of our times: Marxist-Leninism.

The conditions of civil war in Russia with Lenin struggling to retain the power of an imported party with plenty of cash but little popular support; the isolation of the infant Russian State of the time and its necessity to associate with movements abroad; the problems of nationality, of revolutionary working class movements that rejected Bolshevism and of the particular position of the British Labour Party, must all be understood when one reads, say "State and Revolution." But it is quoted as if it had relevance to the present day.

Marxist classics are quoted though the words ("petty bourgeois" being a prime example) have utterly changed their meaning to almost the opposite ("petty bourgeois turn naturally to individual terrorism" — solicitors and accountants is inferred when in the original it implied burly blacksmiths and coopers! — "lesser citizens" — the real translation — not being identical with "full citizens" — bourgeois).

We are reminded of all this by encountering some would-be Marxists — echoing "criticisms" of anarchism we have discussed and answered numerous times. They are unable to answer but unconvinced. For, after all, there it is in black and white. Lenin said so. How can you deny it?

Symbol of Repression

Temple Bar was taken down a hundred years ago because it interfered with the traffic and was re-erected in Theobalds Park — out in Hertfordshire — where it has crumbled away ever since and where it has been vandalised and covered with graffiti.

Now thanks to American lawyers ("it is a symbol of the common law which is our common heritage") it is to be rebuilt near St. Pauls.

Temple Bar was the lawyers' own monument. It was also the place where "traitors' heads" — the heads of rebels — were placed. It is both a symbol of lawyers rule and the repression which the people have suffered.

It would show a fine sense of historical appreciation if some yobboes, constituting themselves heirs of the London apprentices — always sympathetic to the rebels of their day — would vandalise it out of shape when it's re-erected.

Rabies Today

There is nothing like a health scare for bringing out the grandmotherly instincts of the State: for once the faceless bodies of the State can say that it is all "for our own good," that resentments at restrictions on freedom are "foolish and ill-advised," and that those who do not cooperate are unsocial . . . It is only a war or so ago that inspectors would descend upon the slum districts and their heads' eyes light up when they saw the odd louse — "all the children's heads must be shaved, boys and girls alike" . . . (it still operates in some State institutions). "What, did a rebel pauper defy them?"

Just as politicians love the saluting base, so other, more civil minded politicians love the paraphernalia of the Welfare State — the closing of ports because of a health scare, the endless forms to be filled — and they glow with

satisfaction at the thought of it — compulsory vaccination, sealing-off, quarantine. In England they quarantine in coming animals — in Spain (we know from Miguel Garcia's book, "Franco's Prisoner" they quarantine prisoners when they first arrive in prison) — all in the name of Health. And now unreasonable, how anarchistic, to say that there is another instinct involved beyond that!

The latest in power madness — but only for animals so far — was tried out in 25 square miles of the Midlands — in Halesowen, Dudley, Stourbridge, Warley. All dogs and cats were rounded up in a rabies exercise.

They will (in the exercise) only be rounded up; in the real thing they will be quarantined or maybe killed — it just depends how the health officials feel about it. And woe betide the rabies-infected human suspect whisked off to solitary "confinement."

But one thing about our fellow-citizens: they may stand for humans "vanishing into official care" say in the case of nuclear infection, and put down quietly; but are they going to stand for their four-footed friends being exterminated in a rabies scare. We think there will be a lot of resistance. It should be encouraged. It might be an exercise in opposing a drastic "putting down" of unwelcome humans.

In its feature 'The Verdict Is Yours' the Leicester Mercury (June 14 1977) rehashed the Sidney Street case. There are many versions about this. But first it deals with the Jubilee Street Anarchist Club. Thus writer Willard Roper begins his story.

"Goegei Gardstein was an anarchist and didn't mind who knew it. He was a mainstay of the Anarchist Club, a seedy establishment in London's East End, where immigrants, mainly Russian like himself, gathered to exchange gossip, sing songs of the homeland and plan the overthrow of capitalist society.

"Gardstein also liked money and what it could buy. So did his anarchist friends. Which was why on a Sunday evening just before Christmas, 1910, they met at the Anarchist Club to plan a jewel robbery."

Thousands came to that club. They were hard working immigrants, exploited in sweatshops but inspired by visions of a better society. The struggles, the vision, all have escaped Mr. Roper. The whole movement vanished chiefly because its most vigorous militants went

back to Russia when the news came of a revolution and died as they had lived, struggling against tyranny, only this time a new one. The history has only been marginally written. Their memory is preserved instead in the sneers of Willard Roper — winner of the Northcliffe Prize in slanted Journalism?

ANARCHO-QUIZ

1. Verdi's opera "Masked Ball" first shown in the 1840s was about the killing of a Puritan Governor of Massachusetts at a carnival — one who habitually wore a Spanish mantle, high boots, spurs and helmet with waving plume! Why these apparent anomalies?
2. Why was the anti-semitic "The real rulers of America" barred by the British Union of Fascists in the thirties, when every other fascist organisation circulated it?
3. What have King Stephen and the Empress Matilda to do with Anarchy?
4. The American racist Lothrop Stoddard wrote his book "The Revolt against Civilisation" in 1920 as a blast against the destructive forces of revolution: which movement did he think was "the most terrible social phenomenon ever seen", containing an "ominous novelty"?
5. What was the answer of the French Republic to the Tsarina Catherine, who

protested at the execution of an anointed King?

6. Was the lightweight champion boxer Kid Lewis Sir Oswald Mosley's bodyguard in the thirties?

Answers on page 24

The Factionalism That Dares Not Speak Its Name

The bureaucracy of 'Rising Free', a small libertarian bookshop in North London is almost double that of the CNT with 250,000 members and its piecard jobs greater than the latter had in its heyday when Catalan industry was being collectivised — the unelected besides — thus they readily pick up the story of its 'bureaucracy' and laughingly refer to its material resources, in fact smaller than theirs.

The 'Rising Free' bureaucracy are the Mary Whitehouses of the gay movement — they do not engage in sex for enjoyment but lie back and think of Ireland, the Third World and gypsies; they resented in a very un-gay manner our once using the word 'faggots' in the (inoffensive) English sense, though as a matter of fact themselves distribute magazines using the word Faggots and Faggotry in the American sense.

It is, therefore, good to know they *do* have a sense of humour and 'Authority, formerly Capitalist Worker' is a satire, quite in the manner of an anarchist mag, of the anarchist press and ideals, sometimes funny and not always

NOW AVAILABLE

Now Available from CIENFUEGOS: The new revised and updated large format edition (11" x 14") of **The Poor Man's James Bond** by Kurt Saxon (£6.50 + 50p p+p — post free to CP subscribers).

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Also Available Shortly — the follow-up to **Illuminatus!** **Cosmic Trigger: Final Secret of the Illuminati**, Robert Anton Wilson, £4.00. **Nationalism & Culture**, Rudolf Rocker, 592 pages, £7.50 h/b).

too honest. They still cannot bear to be flippant about homosexuality — as almost all homosexuals can — and haven't forgiven Black Flag which is presented as a boorish mag which can only talk about guns, bombs and yer actual workers, and apparently intends to carry out an immediate pogrom against Gay Power — which is not so much taking a piss as drinking it. The reference in our last article to school boxing provides much fun and merriment — cauliflower ears, horizontal boxers (they have seen amateur boxing?) and sycophantic bowing to the National Front as being real toughies, which succeeds in making

one sick — the origin of the reference to Kid Lewis is revealing (see this month's anarcho-quiz).

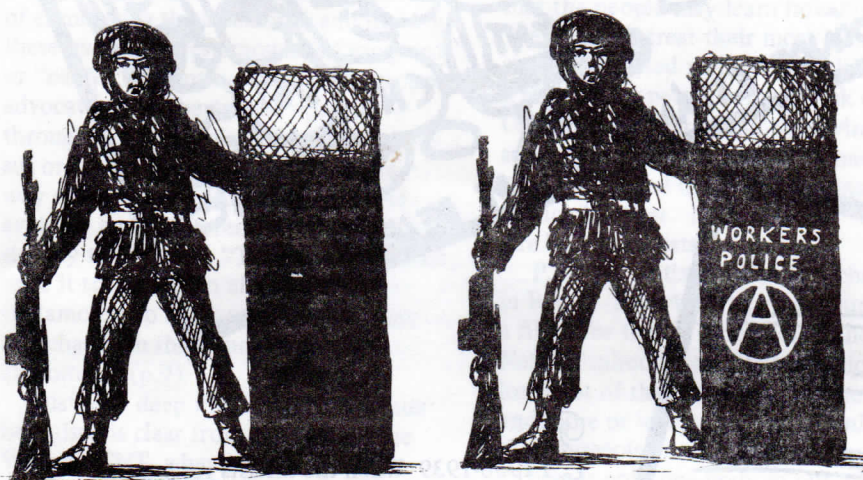
They have not succeeded in satirising anarchist ideals but of an Aunt Sally exaggeration of anarchism.

One could not help comparing the production to Arthur Moyses's weaker efforts at satirising not an exaggeration, but an entirely fictitious anarchist movement, spattered with real names to make it sound authentic — which in subsequent articles in "Freedom" we were told satirised the doings of the old London Anarchist Group, and some of his thicker sycophants thought contained a

germ of truth, or truth, perhaps. Outside the pages of "Freedom" in the Sunday quality 'The Observer' Moyses proclaims that in reality he votes Labour — all 'working class people' do (his conceptions are as crass as those of 'Authority') and that the 'middle class' Anarchists only publish him because the rich patron of "Freedom" insisted they do so! — a libel unanswered in "Freedom" (but still untrue — the reason they do so, might furnish a better satire than we've been given yet).

"Authority" is funnier than Moyses, I suppose, but I can't help thinking, with friends like these you need enemies?

A glimpse into the future



afterwards

"Certainly in the first years of a free society, those consciously libertarian would need to assert the defence of freedom by sacrificing those who would rule."

"No doubt in the early stages of a revolution it would be necessary, within clubs similar to those of the French revolution, to prepare to strike down those who would reintroduce repression."

Floodgates of Anarchy. . page 150.

The clear meaning of the text

The first two drawings only were published in 'Authority'

THE TWO ORTHODOX~ IES 1. ISLAM

Blood and Oil

A particularly bizarre double murder, committed solely out of wounded pride, has been committed by the senior prince of the Saudi royal family. It is symptomatic of the oppression in the country. But on this occasion it concerns members of the family itself.

Princess Misha, aged 23, eloped with the cousin of the Saudi Arabian ambassador in Beirut (whose name has not been given in reports), when she was studying in the Lebanon. In fury at this

breach of convention — there was no breach as Islamic law, reactionary as it is, since the couple got married — Prince Muhammad bin Abdul Aziz, senior prince (passed over as king in favour of King Khaled because of his drunken habits, which may be exaggerated in puritanical Saudi Arabia) had the lady shot and her husband butchered. There is no other word to describe the execution — beheading by the sword was done not by the trained executioner but by the prince's retainers who were not expert at the job and took a number of clumsy strokes.

King Khaled has now forbidden unaccompanied women to travel abroad. Apparently he did not sanction the execution but left it to Prince Muhammad to "avenge his honour."

These people are not terrorists. They are pillars of the establishment. The murderers are not living in some other planet or at some other time. They are to be found at any time coming off Heathrow Airport. They are not just desert patriarchs any longer. They are bastions of the new ruling class here too.

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is an artificial union between two countries which came into being in 1932, largely owing to the intrigues of international diplomacy and partly due to the British interest in the Wahhabite sect and Saudi dynasty which had been stimulated ever since Col. T.E. Lawrence's incursion into Arab politics.

In effect the various countries that now make up Saudi Arabia were handed

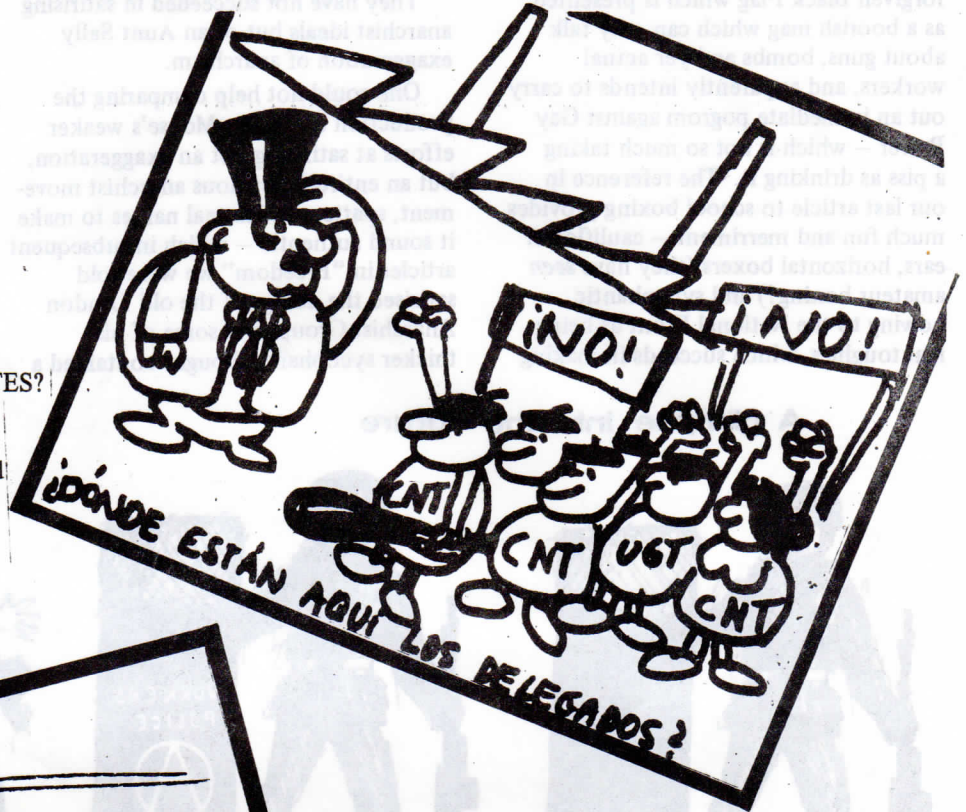
CONTINUED ON PAGE 16

A SHORT HISTORY OF 'UNION

Note: Corporate State ideas, that the unions should hold elections to appoint delegates alongside the employers' delegates and form part of the State machinery, do not greatly differ from those of reformist State socialism. The anarcho-syndicalists entirely reject the idea.

1 WHERE ARE YOUR DELEGATES?

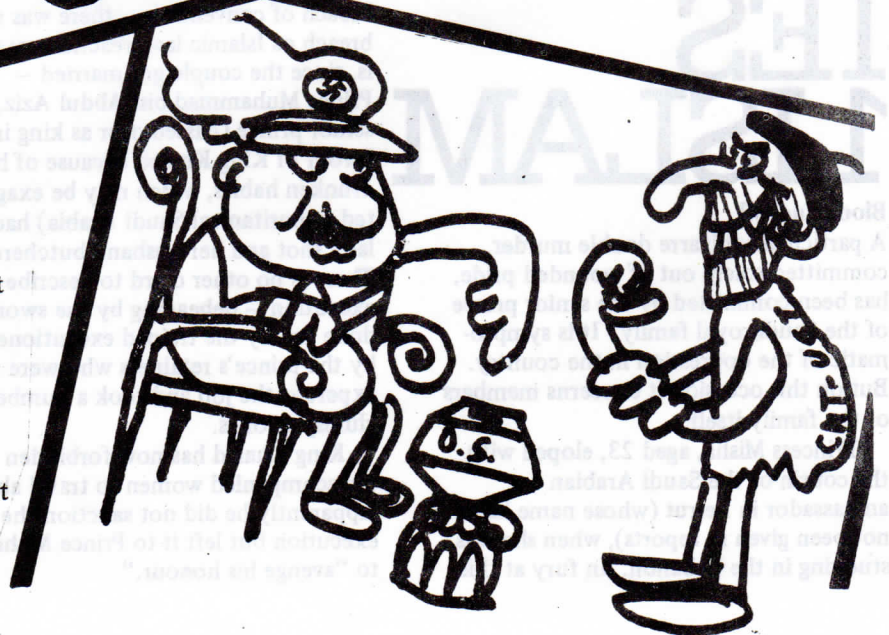
1910-1936 There were no such thing as "union elections." The CNT (anarcho-syndicalists) rejected the idea totally and the UGT (socialist trade union) failed in the attempt to institute mixed commissions of employers and unions.



2 1936-1939 When the fascists rose, the workers joined forces, some to defend the republic (UGT) and others to defend the revolution (CNT).



3 1936-1960 When Franco's government wanted to obtain credibility abroad, it tried in its last years to persuade the workers to elect workers delegates to take part in the economy. The two union centres then existing (CNT and UGT) resisted the blandishments to emerge from clandestinity and take part in these elections.

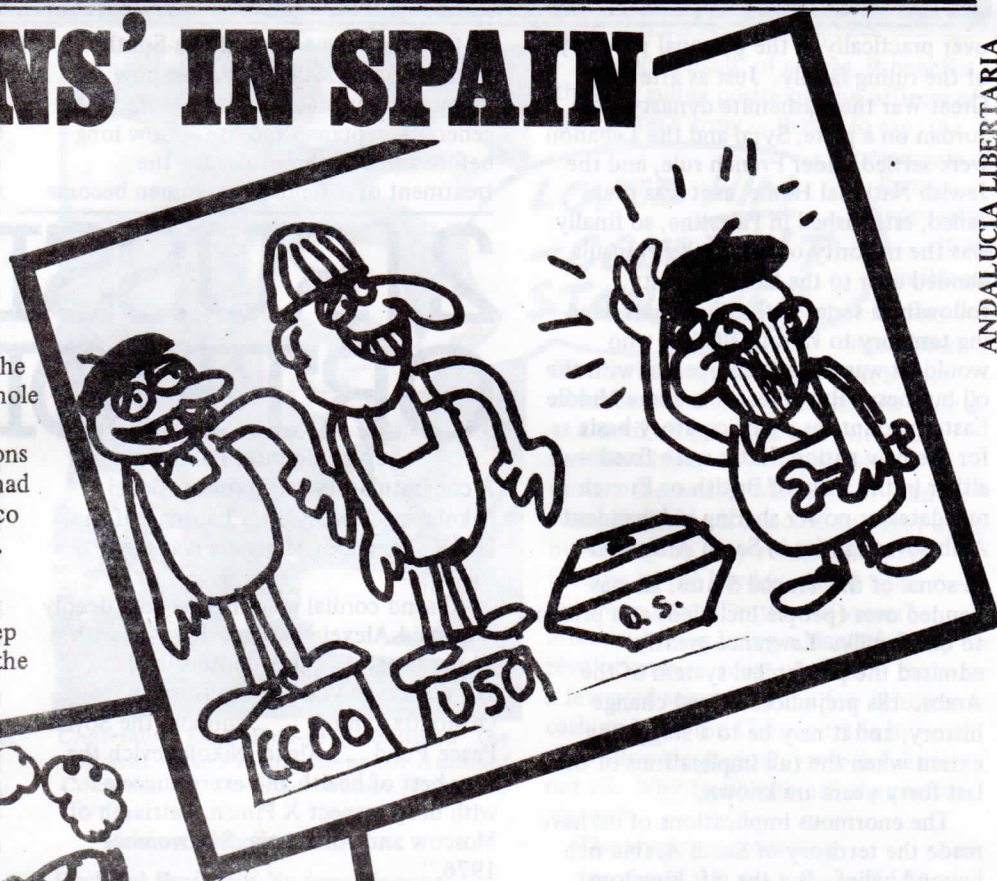


ELECTIONS' IN SPAIN

ANDALUCIA LIBERTARIA

4

1960 - 77 The Workers Commissions (CC.OO) and USO (former under the control of the Communist Party and the latter opportunists) broke with the whole traditions of the workers movements and decided to go into the fascist unions and to get their delegates elected. It had been hoped that with the fall of Franco the Fascist unions would be dissolved. But the CC.OO and USO gave them a certain respectability abroad and the Government was therefore able to keep them going without being accused in the Common Market of maintaining the old fascist unions.



5 1978 Now all the union centres support the old syndicates with the exception of the CNT which urges total abstention from the fascist unions and "no to union elections" (that is to say, to elections from the unions to executives with power above the workers). Under the Moncloa Pact — similar to the social contract and the so-called guarantee of democracy extended in return for it — all the so-called union centres have bound the workers to the boss, except for the CNT which stands out.

(The boss is saying "Now we can get on with things.")

And how did the farce of union elections (to the State) go? 15% of those eligible to do so (and as the CC.OO got slightly the better of it, this was accounted in the foreign press as a great victory for the communists). The parliamentary elections attracted a huge poll: abstentionism was difficult to preach when people thought it was a choice of democracy v fascism; but the "union elections" were obvious for what they were.

over practically as the personal property of the ruling family. Just as after the Great War the Hashemite dynasty was Jordan on a plate, Syrai and the Lebanon were settled under French rule, and the Jewish National Home, as it was then called, established in Palestine, so finally was the majority of the Arab Peninsula handed over to the Saudi dynasty, following a series with other deals handing territory to various sheikhs who would (it was hoped) co-operate with the oil business. But whereas in some Middle Eastern countries a participatory basis for the new nation States were fixed — either in the form of British or French mandates or power sharing independent Arab sovereignties in Saudi Arabia, as in some of the Trucial States, all was handed over (people included) as a present to one family. Lawrence greatly admired the patriarchal system of the Arabs. His prejudices helped change history, and it may be to a staggering extent when the full implications of the last forty years are known.

The enormous implications of oil have made the territory of Saudi Arabia rich beyond belief. But the gift kingdom as such has not even attained mediaeval standards of conduct though its owner's family ride in jets and Cadillacs. It is ruled by the most outdated and reactionary religious code in the world and interprets it so narrowly as to be vicious; slavery is maintained because to assure a place in Paradise one should release a slave — and how else can the royal family be assured of entering Paradise? The penal code includes the cutting off of limbs. The treatment of women defies belief.

Yet because of the wealth that has poured into the State, which is to say to the royal family and its relations and henchmen that make up the state, the wealthy are rich beyond any possible dreams. Their wealth is enabling them to move into London and buy up products, houses, establishments, companies. Gradually they are becoming its new ruling class.

As such, they are not leaving their prejudices behind. When a wealthy "oil sheikh" buys a large London or southern counties house, he converts it by making separate entrances for women, dividing off the house so that his harem will not set eyes on menfolk; he does not include slave quarters only because there is the danger that under English law they would be set free (under an old judicial decision) and so he would lose not only their value but also give his chance at getting a place in Paradise to a Queen's Bench Division judge who could no doubt well do with it too.

One can take a stroll down South Kensington or Mayfair and see how many of their practices are passing into general acceptance and use — how long before some of their rules for the treatment of offenders or women become

law?

Yet not a word from those who attack immigrants for the colour of their skin. On the contrary, they are happy to sell to Arabs — it's the colour of their monet that counts.

2. (RUSSIAN) ORTHODOX

Point Counter Point

A congratulatory telegram to Alexei Nikolayevich Kosygin, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers reads as follows:—

"I send cordial greetings to you, deeply esteemed Alexei Nikolayevich . . . with all my heart . . . dear Motherland . . . Let me assure you . . . the Russian Orthodox Church . . . support the Soviet Peace Fund . . . Alexei Nikolayevich the very best of health and every success . . . with deep respect X Pimen, Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia, 5 November 1976."

And there is more yet. Kosygin's murdering boss, Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU gets the same sort of sycophantic praise: "Most esteemed Leonid Ilyich. Please accept our heartfelt congratulations and those of the Russian Orthodox Church, of which I am the head, on your 70th birthday . . . your tireless work . . . has won you the exceptional respect . . . of all . . . your titanic work in the cause of international peace . . . With deep respect X Pimen, etc., etc. 17th December 1976."

Wow! Pimen, you certainly know which side your bread's buttered — no felt boots or cabbage soup for you with friends like that. See, Pimen, what they give you in return: Decree of the Praesidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet on conferring the Order of the Red Banner of Labour upon Patriarch Pimen of Moscow and All Russia.

"For his great patriotic activities in defence of peace, Patriarch Pimen of Moscow and All Russia be awarded the Order of the Red Banner of Labour."

L. Brezhnev, Chairman.

Listen Pimen, I too have a red banner and I didn't need a telegram from Brezhnev and his sidekicks to get it. Maybe Pimen, your memory needs refreshing. Who in the early 1920s helped modernise the Soviet Railroads? Not only anarchists, Social Revolutionaries, and sundry other "counter revolutionaries." In case your memory is hazy, Pimen, it was also your flock. It wasn't only priests, bishops and so

forth, but ordinary Russian men and women. They believed and went to hell alright, but I bet none of them thought hell was in the Omsk region!

Who is this Pimen anyway? He became Primate of the Russian Orthodox Church on 3 June 1971, the feast of the Vladimir Icon of the Mother of God. On his 6th anniversary this summer no doubt Pimen was embarrassed at the praise heaped on him by the Metropolitans. Pimen must be adept at hiding his true feelings because in his address he certainly showed no modesty.

The Orthodox Church, due only to the crushing humanity of the criminals in the Kremlin, also prints Bibles. Listen, comrade, the Bible was first translated into Russian in 1876 and then things went smoothly until 1912 when it was printed for the last time until 1956, then again in 1970 and again in 1976! Did you threaten to excommunicate Brezhnev?

Where does the world's first atheist State get its priests, nuns and monks? The main theological academy and seminary is in Leningrad. Studies were resumed in 1946 after a gap of nearly 30 years, due to the Revolution — what else? Run by the Education Committee of the Holy Synod, priests are educated in Orthodox theology — and not only Orthodox clergy either. Members of Ancient Oriental Churches also study there. There are two other academies, one in Moscow and the other in Odessa. The Leningrad academy is used to changes. Started in 1721 as the Monastery of St. Alexander Nevsky it became the Slavonic Greek-Latin Seminary in 1726 and in 1788 it became known as the Central Seminary. In 1797 Alexander Nevsky made a comeback and had the seminary renamed in his honour. Finally, in 1809, it was renamed the St. Petersburg Theological Academy. Of course, when the seminary was reopened in 1940 the priests and academics didn't appear from heaven. No, they came back from hell.

Getting back to how the Orthodox Church functions, some idea can be gained from an interview on the All

Union Radio last year with a gentleman known as Metropolitan Alekiny of Tallin and Estonia. In response to various questions Alekiny gave the following information: 1200 men and a handful of women were studying in the three academies in 1977. He also stated that only 1000 have graduated from these academies since the end of the war (WWII) so there could well be a further softening of attitudes towards the Church by the State. It could also point to a revival of Church fortunes. After all, to many people it is a form of legal, though muffled, protest. The Church also runs a publishing house in Moscow which publishes books in a number of languages. Furthermore, it runs candlemaking and icon workshops etc., and even coffin-shroud workshops.

The Church, it is also stated, exists entirely on voluntary donations — Ha ha! you say, there must be a catch. Bloody right there is — it doesn't pay any taxes. This must be what establishing the elements of Communism means. If this is what a disestablished Church is then no wonder the capitalists over here don't seem keen on the idea.

The Church was disestablished on 23rd January 1918 and is now lonked to the State by (gulp) the "Council for Religious Affairs of the USSR." This body not only waives taxes but provides the Churches with *all* the raw materials it needs.

The roots of this partnership lie in the "Church Revolution" when the clergy in favour of appeasing V.I. Lenin got hold of all the main offices and booted out all the remaining Tsarist and other elements. However, it is ever so slightly hinted that although, and I quote, "the laws of the Soviet Union forbid religious persecution" these laws are not as well enforced as they might be.

Whilst on the subject of laws, here is what Metropolitan Alekiny had to say about the New Soviet Constitution in another interview on All Union Radio. The New Constitution shows, says he, "the broadening and deepening of socialist democracy . . . factual confirmation of the equality of citizens before the law." Article 34 gets singled out because it "ensures in all fields of economic, political, social and cultural life" — total freedom for Soviet citizens, which could mean anything and probably does to the law enforcers. Article 52 guarantees "freedom of conscience", not freedom of expression, action or even thought, just of conscience and draws praise from this priest turned celebrity. Also, the Church in the USSR (and the GDR), as from 1977, can now build new places of worship and buildings

necessary for it to carry out its work. Some woman (now no doubt dead as a result of the genocidal rule of "our genial leader") named Tanya Khodkevich once wrote: "You can pray *freely* but just so God alone can hear."

I wonder what she would think of her own spiritual leaders who hysterically condemn the Neutron Bomb as being "satanic" probably because they are told to and because the Red Army doesn't have any — yet! What would she think if she read such a virulent condemnation in a journal and then, on turning the page, read an article entitled "On the Atom bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki" which simply noted that a memorial congress had been held? The same article reports that 50,000 people attended a memorial service to the victims of the quickest and "greatest" mass murder with no comment. If there is a God up there I should think he's personally made out a one way coal-truck ticket to hell for Pimen and his motley crew.

So, comrades, here we see the Church separated from the State. We see that in return it is accorded special privileges. You might say why are you telling me this? The answer is because you must know your enemy and anarchists, for all their bluster, usually fall short in that department.

Again, the reasons for the survival and possible revival of religion in the Soviet Union must be examined. Between 1927, when nuns were getting 3 years hard labour (they were non-active) and monks were getting tenners (activists) and 1941, religion was being eradicated. Then, in 1941, when the Germans launched their attack on the USSR "our genial leader" pleaded with the Metropolitan of Moscow to join in the struggle against fascism. The Orthodox Church demanded a halt to persecution and a state sanctioned revival — and got it. This in the world's first atheist State. Unless we can think like them and know their every move before they even realise they are going to make it, we'll never win.

This isn't intended to be an anti-religious polemical. The method used to combat the enemy must be the one which is most likely to succeed. Certain subjects, therefore, inevitably produce certain reactions. The Russian Orthodox Church is not so much an organised creed as a monument to survival and hypocrisy, and must be treated as such. It is an essential part of the particular brand of capitalism in operation in the USSR and is part of the psychology of the leadership. Heaven on earth when Communism is finally established and,

with it, the chance to get to heaven when you die. The Russian Orthodox Church has come a long way. No longer are religious intellectuals arrested on January 6th, the Orthodox Church's Xmas Eve, as happened in Leningrad in 1929. Indeed, in Leningrad they are reopening churches after closing every one for the tourist attractions in February 1932. As I said before, know your enemy.

Michael Chruszczewski.

GREECE

The mobilisations of protest in Greece against the murder of the German revolutionaries in the white cells of Stammheim gave the excuse for the launching of a wide wave of state terrorism (over 30 arrests, house searching imprisonments, a series of trials, arrests of publishers of papers and reviews, deportation of foreigners, the murder of revolutionary Christos Kasimis).

At this stage, four months since, out of the 13 individuals imprisoned, three remain in jail: 1) 17 year old Giorgos Tsachtsiris, convicted by the high court to two years imprisonment for participating in a demonstration and whose appeal is due for the 27th February; 2) Yiannis Felekis, who remains detained for four months without trial accused for "moral instigation"; and 3) Yiannis Serifis, who is held in custody under heavy accusations and the threat of extermination in cold blood.

Some information has already been sent abroad concerning this wave of terrorism, and the expression of solidarity from other countries was a contributing factor to the release of 10 prisoners (mostly by the large decrease of penalties or altogether acquitted at the trials in appeal).

In this letter we want to give more specific information concerning the most important event in this wave of terrorism: the murder of revolutionary Christos Kasimis by the police and the planned extermination of activist worker Yiannis Serifis now accused as the murderer of Kasimis within the frame of a surprising state provocation.

The Decision to Hit the Factory of AEG Along with other groups or individuals who attacked various German targets (consulates in Patras and Iraklion, firm representatives etc) one revolutionary group under the name of "internationalist Solidarity" attempted to place bombs at the factory of the German firm AEG in Piraeus, on the night of the 19th to 20th of October 1977.

We quote here a passage from the announcement, dated 19/10/77 which

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

The trial of Klaus Croissant, the West German lawyer accused of supporting a criminal organisation because of his active attempts to defend members of the Red Army Faction, has begun in the notorious Stammheim prison. Croissant is one of more than 60 West German lawyers who are being prosecuted at the present time, as part of a systematic attempt by the State to impair the ability of activists to wage any kind of political battle in the courtroom.



GROENWOLD and CROISSANT

In Holland, the government announced its decision to extradite three RAF members to face trial in Germany: the three are Knut Folkerts, Christoph Wakernagel and Gert Schneider, who will face charges relating to the kidnapping of Hans Martin Schleyer, the murder of Buback, and a number of other armed actions. All three have been on hunger strike to protest at being kept in isolation.

French authorities have been particularly vindictive, refusing Sybille



SYBILLE HAAG

Haag permission to stay in France, after she arrived there to stay with friends. The reason — Sybille Haag is the wife of one of the lawyers currently on trial in West Germany for supporting a criminal organisation.

ITALY

The spiral of repression and revolution has taken several more twists during the last few months.

The end of February saw violent clashes between police and thousands of demonstrators who were protesting at the forced internal exile being imposed on 26 year old anarchist Roberto Mander. Roberto is the first person from the Italian far left to suffer from this measure, which has been revived from the fascist era. He will spend the next two years under strict supervision on the tiny island of Linos (off the southern coast of Italy).



Robert Mander

Already an international campaign is being mounted to force the Italian authorities to release him, and an appeal has been signed by (among others) Jean Paul Sartre and Simone de Beauvoir.

It is important to emphasise that Roberto has not been accused or convicted of any crime — he is being forced in obligatory exile, solely because he is considered subversive, and a threat to the state. He is in fact being punished for his political views. This is not the first time that the authorities have singled out Roberto Mander as their victim — they tried to frame him for the fascist bombings in Milan, which were the work of Italian neo-fascists and secret service, and when this failed attempted to pin other charges on him.

Letters of protest to:— Italian Embassy, 14 Three Kings Yard, Davies Street, London W.1.

Rivista Anarchismo
Editorial Staff "foreign relations."

Dear Comrades,

In Palermo (Italy) a "libertarian centre of international documentation" is born. Just in this moment when all the States are more and more making an alliance to repress every revolutionary movement of opposition, only revolutionary and international solidarity can oppose this repressive plan.

Our first initiative is the publication of a counter-information bulletin. We need contributors and money. Whoever wants to help us, can send money and letters to the following address:—

Pippo Noto, Casella Postale 326, 90100 Palermo, Italy.

Your letters and information are very important to us. Libertarian greetings,
The editorial staff.

Franca Salerno is one of 123 members of the Armed Proletarian Nuclei (NAP) currently in Italian jails. She was captured with Maria Pia Vianale and Antonio Lo Muscio, after a shoot out with police on the steps of a Naples church in 1976. In January 1977 she and Maria escaped from their Naples jail, after daubing the walls of their cell with NAP slogans, but they were recaptured in Rome during August.

In December she gave birth to a son, and although the birth was a difficult one and the doctor recommended a long period of convalescence, she and the baby were transferred to a prison on Sardinia only 12 days after his birth.

Several months of her pregnancy, which ended with a miscarriage and caesarian birth, were spent in solitary confinement, and now she is confined to a damp cell, with little light or air, no heating and no hot water to wash the baby, in a prison without an infirmary. Little wonder that after the move the baby lost 2lbs, and Franca was unable to continue breast feeding him.

Demonstrations demanding Franca's release, under a law that states that a pregnant woman, or a mother with child under 6 months cannot be imprisoned, have occurred in several Italian jails.

THE RED BRIGADES

The Red Brigades of Italy are not libertarian. But they are revolutionary. In kidnapping Aldo Moro they took the wind out of the sails of libertarians who had to admit that they were setting the pace of revolution. These are plain facts

that libertarians must acknowledge. To say — in face of their attack on the common enemy — “they aren’t ours” — would be unworthy.

The socialists and communists, even the ‘extreme’ brands, even the ‘mos. left-wing’ all take this attitude, of course. The Italian communists organised a grand march of trade unionists following the party line, saying “Moro is one of us.” True enough. And they are his.

Contrast the Red Brigades with the Palestinian nationalists. They are not revolutionary, but nationalists. Whereas the Red Brigades kidnap the ex-Premier, the Arab nationalists open fire on a busload of children. (“It is war, you cannot discriminate” they would offer in excuse). The German revolutionaries would kill an ex-Nazi industrialist, a Minister or a police official. The IRA however, are not revolutionaries; they would blow up a pub. Precisely the same argument applies to the Zionists or the Orangemen: their attacks would always be indiscriminate. What a contrast when one observes the attacks by revolutionaries.

How foolish of people (or how crafty of the media) to refer to all indiscriminately as “terrorists” as if they were one and the same thing.

The criminal gangs of Italy, faithful to their traditional Christian Democratic principles, warned the Red Brigades that “unless Signor Moro was released, Red Brigades prisoners in prisons would be assassinated” — with the connivance, presumably, of warders. This threat to repeat Stammheim was sent to *Il Messaggero* by the underworld, protesting that their business was being ruined by the fact that the police had been stirred into activity by the “political crime” of the kidnapping of Signor Moro.

The rug had been pulled under the feet of the gangs, they protested. Bank robberies, handbag snatching, car thefts had dropped abysmally. But it was not just the commercial aspect that was troubling the Mafia and the “god-fathers” of crime. “We support, despite the shortcomings that it manifests, the democratic life of the country . . . we reject the kind of state that the Red Brigade propose.” Reminds one of Al Capone, who called for the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti — “those goddam anarchists are notta my countrymen, they should fry.”

The State police obviously welcomed the intervention of the Mafia and the underworld. Like the Communist Party too — “Moro is one of us” — when the chips are down, the authoritarians stand together.

Stop Press: Three Italian anarchists are being held for “total insubordination”

in the military prison of Fort Boccea, at Rome. They are:— Lorenzo Santi, Bruno Igor Mondo, Roberto Scanagatta.

WEST GERMANY

The paralysis which has gripped much of the German left since the rapid events around the deaths of Andreas Baader, Jan-Carle Raspe and Gudrun Ensslin, was broken for the first time at the end of January when over 25,000 people took part in a three day rally held in West Berlin. The rally, which was organised by a group called *Tunix*, was called out of disenchantment with the sterile politics of the marxist-leninist groups which have dominated the German left since 1968, and as such represents a rupture with the recent past.

Those attending the rally included libertarian marxists, members of German autonomous groups, anarchist and German metropolitan indians, as well as hundreds of people from Italy and France. There were over 20 different workshops held around a number of themes, including: “Repression and resistance in West Germany;” the deaths at Stammheim;



ROLF POHLE

Pohle sentenced

A West German court has sentenced Rolf Pohle, a member of the Baader-Meinhof group, to three years and three months imprisonment for his role in the kidnap in 1975 of the West Berlin politician, Peter Lorenz. In 1975 he was released from prison in exchange for Lorenz, he went to Greece but was extradited in 1976.

Stammheim Prison

The trial has now started in Stammheim jail, of Gunther Sonnenberg (23) who is accused of taking part in the assassination of chief prosecutor Buback. He was arrested on May 3rd, 1977, at the same time as Verena Becker, at Singen, in South Germany after a shoot-out with police, and was seriously injured by a bullet in the head.

For the first time, a German urban guerrilla group, the 2nd June Movement,

has published a public self-criticism, outlining its differences with the other sections of the far left, and the Red Army Fraction. In an open letter signed, ironically “from the remainder of the failure of the Second of June Movement” there is open criticism of certain sections of the left, which it describes as “apprentice copes.” It is extremely critical of the RAF’s unique conception of “anti-imperialism,” which it sees as being a “form of resignation,” and goes on to say the Movement reaffirms its belief in the possibility of armed struggle against the power of the state, but that struggle should compliment all forms of resistance.

EUROPE — Anarcho-syndicalist resurgence.

Inspired by the rapid growth of the CNT, there are new moves to establish sections of the International Workers Association (IWA/AIT) in several countries. Since we reported the moves to reorganise the German FAUD, reports have come in about a conference held in Italy, attended by about 150 anarchists from all areas, and delegates from the Italian Anarchist Federation (FAI) and the Federation of Anarchist Groups (GAF), as well as several autonomous groups. It was decided to hold a further assembly, in Rome during April, as the start of a programme to re-launch the Italian section of the AIT. It will be attended by delegates from all local groups and organisations.

In Denmark a reunion of Scandinavian anarcho-syndicalists was held at the end of January, and was attended by delegates from the Norwegian NSF (which broke away from the LO about 3 years ago), the Danish group “Arbejder Solidaritet”, and the pro-AIT section of the Swedish SAC.

USSR

It is now over one year since the KGB arrested Alexander Ginzberg for his membership of a group formed to work for the implication of the Helsinki agreement. He is currently being held in prison at Kalouga, and has been adopted as a “prisoner of conscience” by Amnesty International.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Several dozen people in Prague took part in a 48-hour hunger strike to protest against the rearrest of Ivan Jirous, 33 year old member of the dissident rock group, the Plastic People, following his parole last October. He is at present held in Prague’s Ruzyně jail.

AUSTRALIA

In a blatant attempt to frame the young and growing anarchist movement in Australia, the Australian press has been trying to pin the blame for the February

bombing of the Commonwealth Conference on "a small anarchist cell, with student links" backed by "foreign forces."

To show to the world that they will print any old nonsense as long as they can't be sued for libel, the Australian papers, even claim the police have had the group under surveillance "for more than a year," but do not ask how in that case the police failed to prevent the planting of the bomb in the first place. Naturally the police cannot "identify the organisation with any certainty."

MEXICO

Felipe Soriano, the rector of the "Benito Juarez" University of Oaxaca, and 45 of the university's professors, were arrested on February 7th, by members of the *Brigada Blanca*, a para-military organisation composed of soldiers and police operating in concert with government forces. They are being held in complete isolation in Mexico's number one military camp, accused of being members of the guerrilla organisation, "The Union of the People," which has been active in both Oaxaca and Guerrero states for several years.

The accused have denied the accusations, but have been tortured in a government attempt to obtain signed confessions. The fate of an unknown number of students arrested during clashes with the police during the last three or four months is not known.

Mexico now seems set on the same violent road as Argentina and Uruguay, with massive peasant demonstrations, demanding land reform, being broken-up by armed soldiers, with many deaths. Some reports state that napalm has also been used against demonstrators. Oaxaca itself has in fact been under virtual occupation by government forces, since December, when over 20,000 soldiers moved in under the guise of "manoeuvres", setting up road blocks.

FRANCE

Autonomous groups in Paris organised a day of direct action, against repression, following the death in prison of Jose Tronelle. The "offensive populaire" was marked by a number of bombs and molotov cocktail attacks. Members of the autonomous groups, often in bands of up to 200 people, made organised raids on fashionable shopping areas, smashing shop windows and damaging a large number of cars before clashing with riot police.

FINLAND

Our comrade Kosti Lakus has now been transferred to a prison in West Finland. (See Flag Vol. V No. 2 for detailed background). Briefly he is a 54 year old anarchist active in HAPOTOC who was assaulted in Helsinki last year and then arrested and held for causing an affray and assault. This is a frame up charge

brought because of Kosti's political activity.

Now Kosti's legal representatives have made a submission to the Supreme Court of Finland in which evidence was introduced to the court providing that the charges brought against Kosti had no substance. Under the Finnish legal code (to say nothing of natural justice and common humanity) this means that the accused person should be released forthwith, but this has not happened in Kosti's case, clearly because the Finnish authorities wish to hold him for political reasons, and quite regardless of the legality of the case and the scantiness of the charges against him.

Kosti's health is endangered by his continuing imprisonment. Comrades are asked to support him by means of protest letters to the Finnish Embassy, 38 Chesham Place, Lonson SW1X 8HW. Also letters of solidarity to Kosti will be appreciated. His present address is Kosti Lakus, Huittinen VV, 32700 Lauttakyla, Finland.

SWEDEN

Swedish anarchists wrote a letter to the Swedish government, explaining the conditions under which Norbert Krocher and Manfred Adomeit, are being held in Germany, following their extradition from Sweden last year. Both Krocher and Adomeit are being held under what the German authorities describe as an "intended suicide regime." They are both in complete isolation in cells which have been stripped of all furniture (even the floor linings), they are subjected to perpetual light, and both are suffering from blood circulation difficulties, and stress. Both are in danger of being "suicided." Swedish anarchists point out that the facts in the case are such that they do not come within the category of "terrorist" law, and that consequently their expulsion from Sweden was illegal. The Swedish authorities have replied to these criticisms by pointing out that within West Germany it is possible for individuals to take legal steps to appeal against repressive treatment.

West German authorities have written to the Swedish anarchist paper *Brand* saying that they will not allow it to be sent to Norbert Krocher and Manfred Adomeit. A judge at the Federal Court in Kuhn has declared that as an anarchist paper in the Swedish language it is not acceptable.

JAPAN

Reports reaching Japan are providing the first sketchy details of an assassination attempt at the end of December made on the life of Korean dictator Kim il Sung's son and heir designate, Kim Jung Il. He

has been in a coma for two months following a "hit and run" driving incident. Japanese neurologists have been secretly contacted with a view to hiring their services.

In Japan itself the government continues its barely perceptible move towards a revival of fascism. After years of procrastination it decided to support right wing groups celebrating "Constitution Day" on February 11th (the same date as that of *Kigensetsu*, the most important celebration in the pre-war fascist calendar, recording the very day that the Emperor Jimmu, Founder of the Japanese Empire, ascended to the throne in 607 A.D!) Several right wing groups are coming into the open now, while the students of the "new left" are fighting among themselves again.

The biggest ever anti-nuclear demonstration in Europe took place in the Basque region of Spain in mid-March, when nearly 250,000 demonstrators converged on the proposed site of an atomic installation.

Last December Albert Boadella and his acting company Els Joglars staged a pantomime revue called *La Torna* (The Sweetener), which proved to be very popular but embarrassing for the army, who court martialled Boadella and 5 other actors.

Boadella, however, managed to escape from a prison hospital, and is now in hiding in Paris. One of the other actors jumped bail, but the remaining four were not so lucky and have been sentenced to periods of imprisonment. The arrests of the actors provoked large demonstrations in several towns.

The Revue itself, was based around the military trial and garotting of a stateless Pole, Heinz Chez, in 1974, who was convicted of murdering a policeman. At the same time, anarchist Puig Antich also received the death sentence. The theme of the revue is that the military tribunal passed the death sentence on Heinz Chez to sweeten the execution of Puig Antich.

Spanish prisoners have been taking part in an almost unprecedented wave of riots in an attempt to force the government to extend the terms of the recent amnesty for political prisoners, to include people convicted of non-political offences.

Barcelona's Modelo Prison was the scene of pitched battles between prisoners and police in mid-February (the second serious incident since last October), and so many people were injured that the prison hospital was unable to cope and several prisoners had to be taken to other hospitals in the city. Earlier in February, four members of "the anarchist and libertarian movement"

were charged with taking part in several hold-ups and "terrorist attacks", after they admitted taking part in a bomb attack against the "Modelo" Prison.

Some of the most violent incidents took place in the Zaragoza prison, in Northern Spain, when more than 150 prisoners set fire to bedding, furniture and parts of the jail. When the police intervened some of the detainees threw home made bombs made from buthane

COPEL members.

gas cylinders at them. Two of the prisoners were burnt to death in the riots, and several others suffered badly from asphyxiation.

Carabanchel prison, Madrid,, where almost 75% of the prison population had been held without trial for between 6 months and 4 years, saw its second riot within the space of 6 months, when prisoners set light to their bedding and bombarded warders and riot police with bottles and other

objects. Altogether there have been over 40 serious riots in Spanish jails since last July, and many prisons have witnessed mass hunger strikes, and campaigns of self-mutilation, when prisoners have cut open veins in their arms.

Behind the unrest has been the Co-ordinating Organisation for the Prisoners' Struggle (COPEL), which contrary to some reports is not linked to the CNT, although it is anarchist inspired, and has received support from the CNT.



SOMETHING TO BE INQUIRED INTO.

Desmond Keane, sentenced by the Special Criminal Court (Dublin) in July 1974, has nearly completed his sentence. Meanwhile he has brought an action under Article 40 of the Republican Constitution an application to show cause why he is being detained. (He was convicted solely on the testimony of police who were convicted in another case of framing evidence). Mr. Justice D'Arcy adjourned this case, but heard the contention of the prisoner that newspaper, articles, books and letters were being stopped.

The Governor contended that the prisoner was not entitled to receive printed material as of right, whilst in custody; but Mr. Justice D'Arcy asked (according to the "Irish Times" 14th March) whether "this did not fly in the teeth of a Supreme Court judgment that a prisoner was entitled to all his constitutional rights except the right of liberty?" Mr Haugh submitted for the Minister that it would be a denial of a legal right, not a constitutional right. He pointed out that the Governor at The Curragh had "difficulties" because of the "inter-mingling of prisoners." The Governor (he said) "admitted all periodicals until September last when; because of the amount of printed matter entering the camp, he directed certain restrictions."

This of course was a lie: Black Flag, and most other anarchist literature we have sent Desmond, though originally

received, was banned much earlier. Later the ban was extended to all political papers only because some of the prisoners made a fuss about not getting anarchist papers. Desmond's application was based upon not getting the "Irish People".

Mr. Justice D'Arcy ruled that "in view of the fact that the Minister did not think to state what printed matter should and should not be allowed in the prison, he thought the matter should be argued on a constitutional basis." He decided that "there was something to be inquired into."

There certainly is. There is no lack of propaganda entering the prison. The "difficulties" only arise when the Government, or the Governor, or even perhaps only his stooges, don't like what's said in newspapers they don't approve of. This is a battle that was won in the USA. It has not yet been won in the United Kingdom (see our article in last issue — "Where the National Front Rules"). It must continue in every country; if it does not, we can see the results in every dictatorship.

Lines carved into the wall at Limerick Prison (some 30 or 40 years ago?)

They put our patriot sisters here
Who struggled to be free;
The tyrant's might imprisoned them
Just like you and me.
Upon the chained and padlocked door
That fronts this den of shame

They put a lion that could not roar
The warders were the same.
The old stone lion was put away
For that our kinsfolk bled
A harp of stone that could not play
They put up instead.
Is this to be our final fate?
No use to fret or moan
We now fight for a workers state
That we can call our own.
The sickle will stand upon that door
A hammer too, we claim;
More work for the masons,
The warders are the same.

Anon.

More than 30,000 people attended the anti-nuclear rally ever held in Holland, which took place during the first week in March. Police armed with riot shields, with drawn batons and white helmets, and backed by water cannon, protected the Urenco uranium enrichment plant (owned by Dutch German and British interests) from the demonstrators, nearly one fifth of whom were from Germany. In scenes reminiscent of last year's demonstrations at Kalkar, police stopped coaches taking demonstrators to the demonstration, supposedly to look for concealed weapons.

The letters in the last issue were very interesting and thought provoking. We all have something to contribute to bringing about the social revolution, no matter what kind of anarchists, libertarians or sympathisers we are. I think it is possible, however, to talk so much about revolution that you forget what it's all about in the end! Then, when a real opportunity presents itself we are all far from ready to take advantage of it. To my way of thinking anyway, the way around this situation is to make your own revolution here and now! The most obvious way of bringing this about is armed struggle. If armed struggle proves to be ineffective, it is not because it is 'wrong' but because the tactics employed by those in it are 'not right'. You have to understand what makes the enemy tick. Our idea of solidarity is one based on love and the common ideal — theirs is based on mutual selfishness ('stamping out terrorism' being the media phrase for this) and keeping a firm grip on what they hold — power over others and wealth. When one considers this one can see why kidnapping is not really a very successful idea. When someone like Schleyer is taken by the RAF, nobody really gives a damn, except for obviously selfish reasons. The State puts on a bit of a show, one or two steps are taken to see it doesn't happen to any of *them*, and if and when the 'culprits' are caught, extreme measures are taken to discourage anyone with similar ideas. Wouldn't it be a far better idea to say, simultaneously kill a dozen Schleyers, then make your demands known with the ultimatum to kill another dozen by a certain deadline. This way you can carry out your threat on time and issue an ultimatum for another dozen. This, I think, would be far more likely to bring home to those in power that they were quite likely to be next. This is just one example of course, of bad tactics — another is plane hijacking. One of the great advantages of guerrilla warfare is its ability to strike quickly and then retire to the safety of anonymous surroundings. This advantage is thrown away in a hijacking — what could be more exposed and vulnerable than a bevy of revolutionaries on a plane, in the middle of an airfield! Well, that's just a couple of examples, but what I'm getting at is that what people really mean when they criticise armed struggle is that it is really bad or unsuccessful tactics that are at fault, not the idea of armed struggle itself.

A question of even greater pertinence is the personal one as to whether one wishes to take up armed struggle or not. It is clearly a very important decision, for once taken there is not much chance

LETTERS

of going back on it, and (let's be realistic) a fair chance of doing some time in prison. Oh well, you may be more optimistic than I am — I hope you are! I only have enough courage to admit to fear of the consequences of taking up the armed struggle. Times may change however! Let us hope they do.

In one letter it is said that guns in the UK is an 'esoteric cult.' I wonder how many readers have tried applying for a shot-gun certificate. I have one (and a shotgun too) and found it remarkably easy to get. Just go along to the local police station and ask for an application form — play it cool and you may just be pleasantly surprised. I have no record, and live in a rural area, but it is certainly worth a try — they can only say no. Shotguns are expensive to buy and run however — cartridges are about £8 for 100. A 5 shot auto (pump action shotgun) will set you back about £200. A double-barreled about £150 and a single-barreled about £50. It is nearly always much cheaper to go for a 2nd hand gun however. The end of a 12 bore cartridge can be opened, the shot tipped out and a couple of hefty ½ inch steel ball bearings put in their place. Those with access to machine tools can make an adaptor to fit a shotgun chamber for virtually any calibre of bullet, but be sure to use a good steel however, unless you're a dedicated nihilist! These are some of the (mainly "legal") alternatives to possession of guns there must be lots of others.

A final point about the Black Aid letter. It talks about "attacking the State — where it is politically right to do so. I thought it was always right to attack the State.

V.R.

Dear Comrades,

Nothing happening in the (il)legal arena. Joe and Russ are still anticipating another crack at their murder frame-up ... no date for that as yet and it probably won't be in the near future. Emily and I have a tentative trial date for mid-July ... but we suspect it won't begin before the Fall. The wheels of North American 'justice' are slightly chipped, and often don't roll at all, and when they do, regardless of how quick you may be, they tend to drive right over you. Emily and I are putting most of our energy into preparing for the circus ahead. If anything could bore me, this case does.

We are all four still slammed down in the most maximum security conditions California has to offer. The department of correction is still playing treacherous games with our lives. Since the incident at Folsom early last summer Joe has been the object of numerous attacks set up by the prison administration. Needless to say, the robots who run these places get really freaked out when confronted with someone they can't institutionalise; and they have had many years of practice at trying to break people like us. Joe and Russ both have been especially singled out for the most dehumanising treatment. It is safe to say that their spirit really aggravates these dogs. Emily is still the only woman prisoner in the entire State (possibly the whole country) who is kept in solitary confinement. And I am still in San Quentin's Adjustment Centre ... a euphemism for Hole. San Quentin has three different holes; Russ is in the worst one which is also used for Death Row. Emily also is on Death Row at the women's prison. Neither Russ nor Emily have been technically (legally) condemned to death, but that doesn't seem to matter to the Man. Basically, their major paranoia revolves around not wanting us in positions to communicate with large numbers of other prisoners.

Our ideas, then, are considered a dire threat to the security of their institutions. Well, they may be fascists, but they ain't stupid. Of course our ideas are threatening ... They are a direct threat to the entire corrupt social order. So none of this is particularly surprising. I must admit that these bureaucrats tend to mystify our abilities. They think so lowly of most prisoners, when people like us come along who have had by comparison lots of formal education and also are committed to the destruction of the State, they tend to get a little hysterical. They fantasise we have some mysterious metaphysical powers to undermine the "order" of their camps. Actually, they place too much emphasis on schooling, partly because many of the bureaucrats haven't had much themselves. But regardless of the intolerable conditions we find ourselves in, we're all in excellent spirits and very much on our guard.

Emily incidentally has totally recovered from the affects of her hunger strike. Some gains were made particularly in the area of propaganda and the prison came off looking very bad and reacted extremely defensively. However, her situation has not improved in terms of the issue of isolation. In fact in some way it has worsened ... a result of the administration's reaction to looking bad in the media. Emily still

feels that her action was necessary and that gains of a more personal nature were made.

I received the C.P. Review a couple of months ago. As yet Emily has not received hers. I mentioned to her to keep you all posted. I have found some of it very interesting. All in all, I think the Review is a valuable publication. As of this letter I have completed well over half of the articles. A few of the pieces seemed a bit too cerebral or divorced from contemporary reality, (may be a problem of geography and experience) to hold my interest. Historical pieces on anarchist activity/movements in other nations are good background for people like me who've had to contend with bourgeois and marxist/leninist historical bias. But what I really am interested in are all contemporary writings and analyses of current activity in Europe. It seems from here (and it's difficult getting information) that some really important events are happening particularly in Spain, France, and Italy. Our media pukes up nothing but shit on Euro-Communism and the jockeying for legitimacy carried on by the Leftie coalitions.

There also was an obvious void (except for a couple of pieces) in the Review that in any way dealt with women's struggles, on the contributions of women to social revolution. In looking over the list of friends and contributors I notice a lopsided number of men and it seemed that you may need to confront this contradiction. I find it especially odd since I am aware of the many contributors and leading examples that women anarchists have had throughout history. You may want to examine the reasons for the problem. Another question I have is, why is it that I rarely come upon anarchist perspectives on national liberation? Certainly, conditions here in North America in regard to this issue may be dissimilar to many European nations but sometimes I get the impression that the issue is not considered important to comrades who consider themselves anarchists. Racism and national chauvinism are priority issues over here and would seem to be serious issues in several European countries . . . England and Holland and France come to mind immediately. Maybe you can suggest some things for me to read. And anytime you come upon publications that deal with action groups past and present let me know what they are.

Bill Harris

B76393, San Quentin Prison
Tamal, California 94101.

Dear Comrades,

The war continues here in the "Belly

of the Beast". We are still fighting like hell (smile).

I was just reading about the comrades in Spain. I'm glad to see this sort of action going on around the world. We must continue to make our struggle worldwide. Once the whole world sees this international fight about the prisons this will do a lot to change the whole set up.

It is sad to hear that our Black Cross comrades received a jail term! This should make us just a bit stronger and more determined. Please give them my regards. Revolutionary Love,

George E. Blue.

Dear Comrades,

I feel strongly that we need to be careful in our use of words especially when describing our enemies. This is not a question of pedantic vocabulary, but of awareness that emotion is less effective than true analysis. Just because our opponents are guilty of meaningless abuse, it does not mean that we can allow ourselves the same fault. Political language and descriptions are being corrupted and devalued to a point where a layman finds it so difficult to understand, that he sees no reason for bothering. And we stand to lose the most in such a war of useless verbiage.

The most relevant example for facing us is how to describe the West German State. It is obviously tempting to call it Fascist, but in some ways this is similar to our opponents equating say Anarchism and Nihilism. To misuse the term Fascist allows it to become a generalised word for right wing and thus takes away its real meaning. West Germany is not dominated by Fascism, although there are evident Fascist elements which influence it in important ways. It is a society which is dominated by a brutal materialism which is almost as great an evil as Fascism, but far more dangerous in its outward plausibility.

If you use the word Fascist to describe it, then whatever you say afterwards however accurate, may well be rejected by the audience you are trying to illuminate simply because one key word wrongly used causes a reaction of disbelief. It is totally unproductive to use emotionally charged words rashly. It is also dangerously lax when we can easily show the evils produced by a totalitarianism of greed. Don't let's corrupt important words by stretching their meaning to the point of destroying their credibility. Let's invent a new one, even if it's only "materialist-fascism" though such hyphenated terms are unsatisfactory. Any suggestions?

A.

Dear Former Anarchist Comrades,

This is to inform you that I have revised my political thinking and am no longer an anarchist. I am now a card-carrying Official Supporter of the National Socialist White People's Party, and am currently enlisting in its Storm Trooper defence auxiliary. Eventually I plan to be accepted for full Party Membership.

My reasons for becoming racist and later a Nazi in brief, centre around the actions of Black and Brown raced people in the past seven years, the worst of these actions being most recent, ranging from stealing to rape and murder, committed against myself, my wife, my son and my friends. After much investigation and research, ranging for about two and a half years, I have accepted the National Socialist (Nazi) philosophy.

This letter is intended to get the uncensored truth to my former associates of the anarchist movement, who have remained ignorant due to the suppression of my letters to specified anarchist publications in the U.S. I decided to announce my conversion in October 1977.

White Power!

Red Warthan

Official Supporter, NSWPP,
Stockton, Calif. USA.

Did Red Warthan spend 2½ years thinking out his position – or was it an emotional snap decision sparked off by an incident? One can't believe he ever understood much about anarchism but he was once an ardent worker for prisoners' rights; but presumably he had this liberal thing about minority "liberation" and held the to-be-liberated hostage in his mind for their good behaviour. Life isn't like that. Red was a convinced opponent of what he chose to call "violence" – he made people joining his chapter sign a pledge to say they disapproved and rejected "terrorism" joins the real old-fashioned most terroristic, most violent outfit of all. The fate of the pacifist, who labels all with whom he disagrees "violent", and when he – sometimes but not often – sees violence is a bit inescapable, goes completely the other way and becomes a really violent thug – or an ardent supporter of war or State terrorism.

A side-effect of liberal pacifism is to assume that all oppressed minorities must be naturally good whereas oppression brings out the worst in some, the best in the best. Poverty and oppression do not naturally enoble; having found this to his surprise he goes over to an organisation intended for the institutionalisation of poverty and oppression in which violence will reign supreme but be under party and later State control.

GREECE

this group sent to the press regarding the above decision (daily press 25/10):

"The government of social democratic Germany, the most advanced terrorist tool of world capitalism in Western Europe, famous for its sly as well as cynical murderous artsmanship, committed yet another serious crime against the proletariat. The government killed 4 of the leading revolutionary fighters who had been its prisoners for more than 5 years.

Like Meinhof, Meins and so many other German comrades, these leading revolutionary fighters, Baader, Ensslin, Raspe and Muller, were murdered while being held as hostages, and because their existence alone brought shivers down the spines of the pillars of German social democracy.

As an appropriate expression of international revolutionary solidarity, and within the programme and the prospects of the class struggle in our country against the establishment, we took the decision to hit the German multinational corporation of AEG.

International solidarity is our duty, it is an integral part of the very class struggle in our country, against international bosses, the State and their puppets."

The Murder of Christos Kasimis.

A detailed account of what happened during that evening outside the AEG factory has been given in an announcement by the group dated 21/10/77. It was sent to the press along with diagrams and published in the daily papers, followed by their previously quoted announcement.

So according to this description, while 3 of the 4 members of the group were within the grounds of the factory preparing the sabotage, Christos Kasimis moved towards their car in order to fetch some equipment. Two policemen who happened to be passing approached him, immobilised him and disarmed him. Kasimis' 3 other comrades who were at a distance of about 15m started to move noiselessly towards the policemen, hoping to immobilise them without having to use their guns. Although they had approached to within a distance of 3-4m unnoticed, Kasimis broke away and started to run in the opposite direction. The two policemen unhesitatingly shot him (this has lately become a common practice in Greece). One bullet mortally wounded him in the head. Almost simultaneously Kasimis' comrades attacked the two policemen and tried to overcome them. One policeman, although he had fallen down, continued

firing at members of the group, who finally pulled out their own guns and an armed struggle ensued. As a result, the two policemen were slightly wounded and thus overcome, and two more members of the group were also slightly wounded. In spite of this the three comrades of Kasimis succeeded in escaping.

The Police Account.

In its attempt to clear itself of the murder of Kasimis, the police thought up a ridiculous version of the events. This version is as follows:

The two policemen, while on patrol, spotted somebody (Kasimis) doing things they regarded as suspect. They approached him and asked for his papers. At first Kasimis pretended he would give them to them, but he then tried to run away. The policemen struggled with him and disarmed him, and immobilised him. At that instant they heard shots and turning round they saw 3-4 individuals approaching them shooting. One of these broke away from the others, approached to a distance of 1 meter and shot Kasimis at point blank range in the head "so that he doesn't talk!" Just after that he wounded the two policemen. Then the group escaped.

From then on the only thing that remained was to find somebody to be presented as the killer.

For The Liberation of Yannis Serifis.

Serifis has been continuously detained since the day of his arrest - 31/10/77 in the Koridallios prison in Piraeus. Given the fact that his interrogation is not yet considered complete, it hasn't been possible, up to this point, to apply for his release. Such an application is expected to be made towards the end of February, without, given the circumstances, any illusions being held as to its outcome.

The greatest obstacles that the mobilisation for the liberation of Serifis meet with are:

1) The atmosphere of police terrorism that exists both as a general rule, and even more specifically concerning this matter. Despite the release of the majority of those imprisoned and the favourable results of the appeals of the demonstrators the wave of terrorism has continued throughout December and January, with house and office searching, confiscation of manuscripts, notebooks etc., and of course with the continuous detention of Serifis.

2) The relative inability of Serifis' proper circles, namely the workers of AEG and others in electrical equipment industries, to succeed in effective mobilisation, an ability that is not only

due to this present wave of terrorism. It is also due to the repression directed against them by the employers and the official trade unions since the strike mobilisations of 1977, which resulted in the dispersion of the most militant elements, mainly through dismissals: 43 workers, and among them Serifis, were fired by AEG, and the failure of attempts at workers' self-organisation.

ANSWERS TO QUIZ

from page 12

1. The opera was originally based on the assassination of Gustavus III of Sweden, but the Imperial censor objected - Verdi substituted an American republican, but then the tenor objected to the sombre garb.
2. It listed a number of "Jewish millionaires" - mostly department store owners - as the real rulers of America, among them Levi and Joe Leiter of Chicago. Unfortunately for the Mosleyites they were the first Lady Mosley's grandfather and great-uncle respectively.
3. Nothing whatever; but during their simultaneous reigns as English sovereigns there was civil war, and historians refer to the period as "The Anarchy" - when the real trouble was there was a duplication of government.
4. Syndicalism. Stoddard points out its anarchistic origins and says the frightening thing about it is that it enables "Underman" to overthrow the natural rulers of society.
5. That she doubtless had expert knowledge of the consequences, having murdered the Czar her husband.
6. No. Lewis was persuaded by the abortive New Party (a pro-Keynesian split from the Labour Party) to stand in the East End as a parliamentary candidate, to get (they hoped) the "Jewish vote". The New Party collapsed after the election, and all went their separate ways (Mosley became a Fascist, Strachey a Communist, and so on.) Years later, Arnold Leese (rival "orthodox" fascist) spread the malicious story that Lewis (a Jew) had been a 'Mosleyite candidate' and 'Mosley's bodyguard'. It was intended as a slur on Mosley, but instead it ruined Lewis.